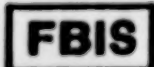


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16 MAY 1986

East Europe Report



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16 MAY 1986

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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AGRICULTURE

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

COOPERATION COUNCILS ASSUME ECONOMIC, MANAGERIAL LEADERSHIP

East Berlin KOOPERATION in German Vol 20, No 2, Feb 86 pp 49-50

[Article by Wolfgang Gampe: "Performance Increases in Plant Production Include: Deepening of Cooperation--Perfection of Socialist Enterprise Management--Raising of Efficiency"]

[Text] In socialist competition in 1985, cooperative farmers and agricultural workers attained the highest performances thus far through comprehensive intensification and deepening of cooperation. This has acted as a stimulus for them to thoroughly analyze the causes of the successes, but also to uncover as yet unexhausted reserves.

Everyone knows: a great performance increase and a rapid pace are the decisive contributions toward securing peace and are the prerequisites for further improvements in working and living conditions on the land.

Everyone recognizes: under socialism, social requirements and personal interests coincide in principle. This is a decisive advantage and a mighty driving force of the socialist way of production, which is being utilized ever more effectively.

Everyone experiences: that the performance principle is the most just form of distribution--a principle which excludes social uncertainty, the dying off of farmers, and unemployment. Each according to his capabilities, to each according to his performance--that is the essential motive of work under socialism.

The Goal of Cooperative Work--Higher Farm Output and Net Production

Stimulated by this awareness, the following questions have advanced to the center at membership meetings in LPG's and at employee meetings in VEG's:

- a. how can efficiency of joint work be further increased by granting economic managerial functions to cooperation councils and
- b. how can the subjective factor be more effectively utilized to produce higher performance by more rapid development and conversion of scientific and technical progress and through close connections between science and agricultural practice?

And what is at stake is to reach the goals of comprehensive intensification for agriculture set for the next development phase, which was justified by Comrade Werner Felde in the interview he gave to KOOOPERATION [1].

A higher increment in agricultural production compared to gross turnover and a more rapid growth of net production as opposed to gross product are the guidelines for answering these questions. With the deepening of cooperation, additional reserves "stemming from the unified but work-oriented reproduction process of the LPG's and VEG's for plant and animal production" are available. The most effective economic structure of the materials cycle of soil--plant--animal--soil is, thus, a decisive leading economic task for cooperation councils. This was and is the desire of those LPG's and VEG's whose cooperation councils have been involved in economic managerial functions for 1 to 2 years and it is also the stated purpose of those cooperation councils which took over such functions effective 1986.

The important content of enterprise economic work involves the evaluation of experiences gathered in this manner and their scientific dissemination. The perfection of socialist enterprise management science, therefore, is consequently aimed at the goal, the content, and the methods of work involved in research and in teaching, as well as on practical applications. High demands are made on enterprise economists. They enjoy great trust in creating the scientific prerequisites for mastery of socialist enterprise management. In the final analysis, what is involved is the firming up and expansion of high performance levels at our LPG's, VEG's, and KE's, to provide scientific impetus for future performance increases and to publicize experiences involved in the overcoming of unjustified economic differentiation.

Enterprise management science must make available to cooperative farmers and agricultural workers methods and instruments appropriate to the reproduction conditions which closely connect the utilization of natural forces with the workings of the economic laws. On this basis, they can also evaluate economically the natural science, technical, and technological findings and utilize them to increase the efficiency of the economic laws of socialism in their enterprises.

High Demands of Socialist Enterprise Management

It surely requires no lengthy explanation that the new quality of cooperation relationships, which is based on the taking on of economic management functions, also places higher demands upon enterprise economies.

The deepening of cooperation has as its goal a further increase in performance and, thus, a growing efficiency. Consequently, all scientific performance in the area of enterprise management must be aimed at achieving a high agricultural product resulting from cooperation. This is equally true of the field-oriented maximum yields and the stable-oriented maximum performance concepts.

Attention must be devoted to seeing to it that the striven-for performance increase of the individual LPG's, VEG's, and KE's does not occur at the expense of their cooperation, but that close collaboration yield additional performance

impetuses for all partners. This also expands the investigation scope of enterprise economies. They extend to the economic relations and interests of the unified (cooperative) work-oriented reproduction process. Finally, it is necessary that methods and principles worked out for practical application not only serve the special requirements of animal and plant production, as well as the auxiliary processes of production, but also assure the enterprise economic mastery of this complexity.

The new demands made up on enterprise economies do not come about in and of themselves, but demand a tenacious argument with obsolete thinking and working habits. In the final analysis, new teaching materials must be provided or expanded research tasks solved. The key to success lies in close cooperation between science and practice in a "broad scientifically creative exchange of experiences" [1] and, last but not least, in a critical evaluation of scientific performances which can be measured in terms of economic utility.

With all cooperation councils taking on economic management functions, this complex approach and the utilization of this working style in scientific work does not tolerate any delay. All scientific establishments and agricultural enterprises are called upon to provide stronger support for this process by creating utilizable knowledge. "The enterprise economic desire must consist of even more specifically turning toward this function in cooperation councils" [1]. If one attempts to capture the specifics of these functions, one recognizes that they lie primarily at a greater distance, in other words, in the strategic answer to economic questions and in securing the proportionality for all cooperative efforts. New sources for increasing performance arise primarily from the following:

- a. information (recording, selection, conversion of scientific-technical progress in accordance with appropriate location conditions),
- b. planning (investment and rationalization strategies applicable in the area of working conditions and living conditions, as well as long-term assurances of manpower, and reproduction of the necessary working capital),
- c. organization (assurance of the fundamental proportion between plant and animal production, as well as organization of the auxiliary processes),
- d. stimulation (more effective conversion of the performance principle within the framework of cooperation--performance-based development of wages), and
- e. control and accounting (execution of performance comparisons, overcoming of unjustified performance differences).

Creativity of Man Is Decisive

With respect to all new methods and solutions of the social enterprise economy--no matter how genial they might be--we must consider that they are only auxiliary means, only means toward an end. Experienced practitioners confirm repeatedly that enterprise management in and of itself cannot produce a single quintal more of agricultural yield. Its conversion and effect in the desired

direction always requires the creative actions of man who reacts to the existing situation and utilizes the soil, the plants and equipment, the animals and stable facilities responsible with highest efficiency [2].

Seen in this light, socialist enterprise management science is aimed at providing cooperative farmers and agricultural workers wide room for their creativity and is intended to help them tap all reserves for still further performance increases. If this was already true in the past, it takes on even greater significance given such a complex structure of the unified reproduction process involving plant and animal production. After all, what is involved here is to develop the motivation, the creative force in the sense of the highest possible and most efficient production under cooperative conditions.

The pace of progress and the quality of new enterprise management instrumentalities, consequently, depends largely on how successful science and farming practice can be connected.

From the enterprise economy viewpoint, the comprehensive intensification anticipates the ever better utilization of performance and production potentials inherent in plant and animal production, it expects the leaderships of the LPG's, the VEG's, and the cooperative installations, as well as the cooperation councils of all enterprise managements, to take steps and measures to promote this process and thoroughly discuss it with cooperative farmers and agricultural workers, to actively awaken, intensify, and naturally also appropriately stimulate their readiness to actively cooperate.

To utilize the advantages of intensified cooperation in an enterprise management sense means that natural and economic production conditions are tapped for performance increases. The cooperation council must not permit any unjustified performance differences and must, by leading the economically weaker partners, assure an increase in performance. And at the same time, the very different reproduction conditions must be taken into account by applying target-specific and location-specific enterprise management performance yardsticks. The exchange of experiences in the journal KOOPERATION is intended to be helpful in this respect. (See also contributions on pp 51 through 66 and 76 through 79.)

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CSO: 2300/305

AGRICULTURE

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

EMPHASIS ON CROP PROTECTION--The deputy minister for agriculture, Peter Findeis, has announced an increased effort on the part of the state in monitoring the measures employed in GDR agriculture for crop protection. Chemical substances used for plant protection are to be applied only after the many [other] methods designed for plant protection have been exhausted. These chemical preparations are "in a manner of speaking, to be applied only in accordance with regulations." According to Findeis, as of the beginning of this year, in the ministry, in the bezirke and in the kreise new guidelines for establishing cooperation and management of crop protection are to be created. [Text] [Bonn DIE LANDWIRTSCHAFT DES OSTBLOCKS in German Vol 24 No 10, 13 Mar 86 p 7] /6091

CSO: 2300/311

ECONOMY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FIXED-BED LIGNITE GASIFICATION: DEVELOPMENT, APPLICATION CITED

Leipzig ENERGIETECHNIK in German Vol 36 No 3, March 86 pp 81-86

[Article by Doctor of Engineering Guenter Scholz, Graduate Engineer Karl Sowka and Graduate Engineer Lutz Groeschel, VEB Gaskombinat Schwarze Pumpe (Black Pump Gas Combine State Enterprise)]

[Text] 1. Introduction

In almost all highly developed industrial countries, coal gasification processes are rapidly being pushed ahead by means of costly development projects because of short supplies of liquid and gaseous hydrocarbons in the world.

From the multitude of process developments tackled and existing processes applied on a large scale, the following should be considered--in the next 5 to 10 years in particular--for further commercial utilization:

--Fluidized bed gasification (Winkler and HTW [High-Temperature Winkler] processes.

--Fixed bed gasification (KDV-Lurgi, KDV-GSP-PKM) (KDV=pressure coal gasification. GAP=Schwarze Pumpe Gas Combine. PKM=Planning, Design and Assembly Office]

--Entrained flow gasification (Koppers-Totzek, Shell, GSP-VV [VV=Process Testing Office?])

Looking at actual developments worldwide in the erection of large-scale plants, it is clear that processes for fixed bed pressure gasification and dust gasification in the co-current flow flame are once more experiencing increased large-scale application.

The development of gasification in a fixed bed is determined by the following aspects which characterize the advantage of the process.

--Because of the counter-current flow principle, this process has the lowest consumption of pure oxygen per therm of the gas produced; this affects the investment costs favorably.

--The portions of methane and liquid hydrocarbons produced in the pressure reactor today represent decisive economic factors in the overall balance sheet. In the production of synthesis gas as well, methane and liquid hydrocarbons are valuable coupled products.

--The production of methane, hydrogen, carbon monoxide and liquid hydrocarbons in the first process step, as well as the problem free production of synthesis gas, SNG, methanol, and ammonia in subsequent process steps, gives the process great universality. (Figure 1)

--Decades of industrial experience in the gasification of coals of highly different quality have led to mature detailed designs in equipment, machine and materials technology.

Recent research results on the behavior of the gasifier fuel charge in the process make possible a wider range of fuels. Lump fuel with a coarseness of 5 to 8 millimeters nevertheless remains a requirement for high reactor output.¹

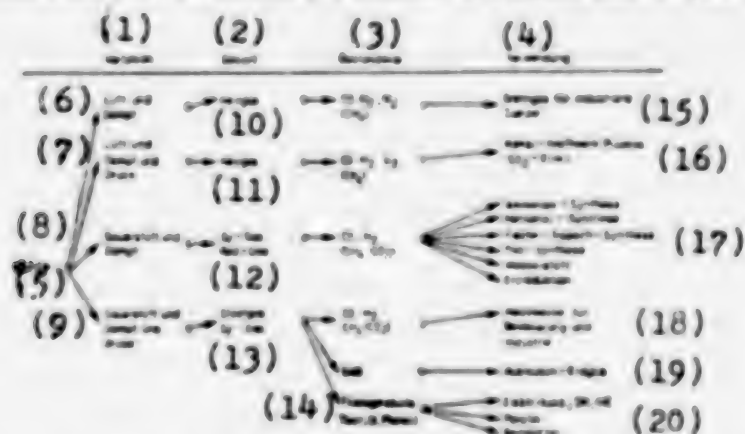


Figure 1. End Products of Coal Gasification (Fixed Bed Pressure Coal Gasification)

Key:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Process | 14. Liquid products (tar, oil, phenol) |
| 2. Type of gas | 15. Fuel gas for industrial purposes |
| 3. Components | 16. Combined-cycle power plant process (SO ₂ removal) |
| 4. Use | 17. Ammonia synthesis |
| 5. Coal | Methanol synthesis |
| 6. Air and steam | Fischer Tropsch synthesis |
| 7. Air and steam and pressure | Oxo synthesis |
| 8. Oxygen and steam | Hydrogen |
| 9. Oxygen and steam and pressure | Ore reduction |
| 10. Heating gas | 18. Heating purposes for population and industry |
| 11. Heating gas | 19. Substitute natural gas |
| 12. Synthesis gas; reducing gas | 20. Electrical coke; diesel oil; motor gasoline |
| 13. City gas; synthesis gas | Paraffin |
| | Pure Phenol |

2. State of Development in the GDR

Taking into account the beginning of the history of development of pressure coal gasification in 1935 at Hirschfelde, as well as the Boehlen and Schwarze Pumpe pressure gas works, the GDR has an almost 50-year development potential in pressure coal gasification. This development was afflicted with problems chiefly because of the raw materials situation in the GDR, which required exclusive use of soft lignite. Despite many unsolved problems in the gasification of soft lignite in a fixed bed, further development in the GDR was consistently directed to this process because

- hard coal with generally better gasification properties is not available, and
- lignites can be supplied at considerably less cost.

From the cost breakdown for gas production shown in Table 1, applicable to 1984 at the VEB Gaskombinat Schwarze Pumpe (GSP) [Black Pump Gas Combine, it is clear that cost savings of at least 20 to 30 percent can be expected if cheap lignite is used instead of hard coal. The lower reactor output per producer unit when using lignite is in every case compensated by the fuel cost.

In addition, the oxygen requirement in the gasification of hard coal may be 40 percent higher, which compensates for [higher lignite] investment cost.

Moreover, it is to be considered that the valuable liquid products obtained as a by-product in the pressure coal gasification process can compensate for 20 to 30 percent of the coal costs.

By means of two self-contained development programs in connection with increased output (1960 to 1968 and 1976 to 1981) of the Schwarze Pumpe pressure gas works, the output capability of the plant including 24 generators was continuously increased. The application of research results obtained is shown in the development of characteristic numbers in the last few years--Figure 2. Decisive factors in this development were new findings in different disciplines.

Decisive contributions were made by

- findings from basic research,
- test series on a research generator equipped with additional measurement technology,
- new construction and elimination of wear in several units,
- use of new instruments and measurement principles and application of process control by means of microprocessors.

The findings obtained will be reported on in the following sections.

Table 1. Characteristic Numbers from Lignite Pressure Gasification Plants

	<u>Vresova</u>	<u>Sasolburg</u>	<u>GSP*</u> <u>(1976)</u>	<u>Kosovo</u>	<u>GSP*</u> <u>(1981)-</u>
Reactor diameter in meters	2.76	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.6
Crude gas output in Nm ³ /hr**	8,000	35,000	15,000	20,000	27,000
Lignite charge	Hard lig- nite lumps	Hard coal lumps	Lignite briquettes	Hard lig- nite lumps	Lignite briquettes
Melting point (ash) in °C	1,500	1,430	1,200- 1,300	1,440	1,350
Lignite consumption per cubic meter crude gas (referred to pure lignite)	0.61	0.47	0.66	0.59	0.64
Oxygen consumption per cubic meter of crude gas	0.147	0.192	0.142	0.130	0.140
Steam consumption per cubic meter of crude gas	1.03	1.104	1.16	1.065	1.05

Proportional costs per cubic meter of pure gas of pressure coal gasification
at GSP (based on 1984 costs)

Lignite (briquettes: 20 percent H ₂ O)	44.9 percent
Oxygen (96 percent)	8.4 percent
High-pressure steam (3.8 mega pascals)	10.5 percent
Gas and gas water treatment	12.3 percent
Depreciation	13.3 percent
Maintenance costs	2.4 percent
Other	8.2 percent
Total	100.0 percent

*GSP = Schwarze Pumpe Gas Combine

**Nm³/hr = normal cubic meters per hour

3. Research Results

3.1 Fundamental Work

The main problem in the control of high reactor outputs at favorable characteristic numbers for consumption is the avoidance of fine-grained material in

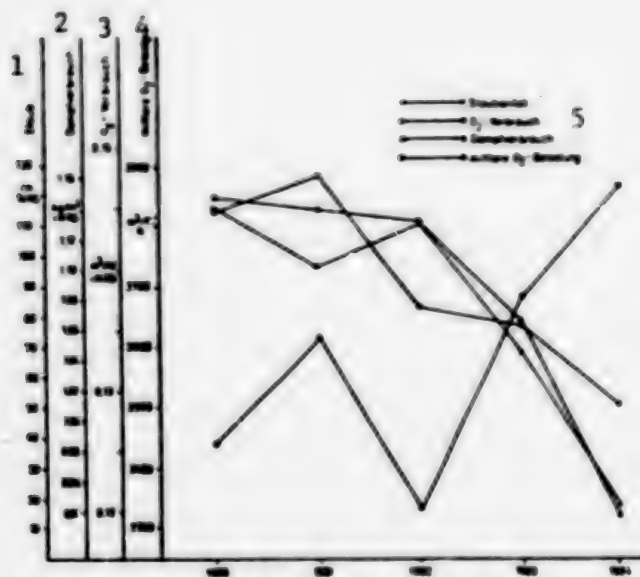


Figure 2. Development of Characteristic Numbers for Pressure Coal Gasification at the GSP, 1980 to 1984

Key:

1. Dust
 2. Steam consumption
 3. Oxygen consumption
 4. Average oxygen charge
 5. Dust accumulated
- Oxygen consumption
Steam consumption
Average oxygen charge

RG = crude gas



Figure 3. Results of Measurements on the Flow Distribution in a Model Generator

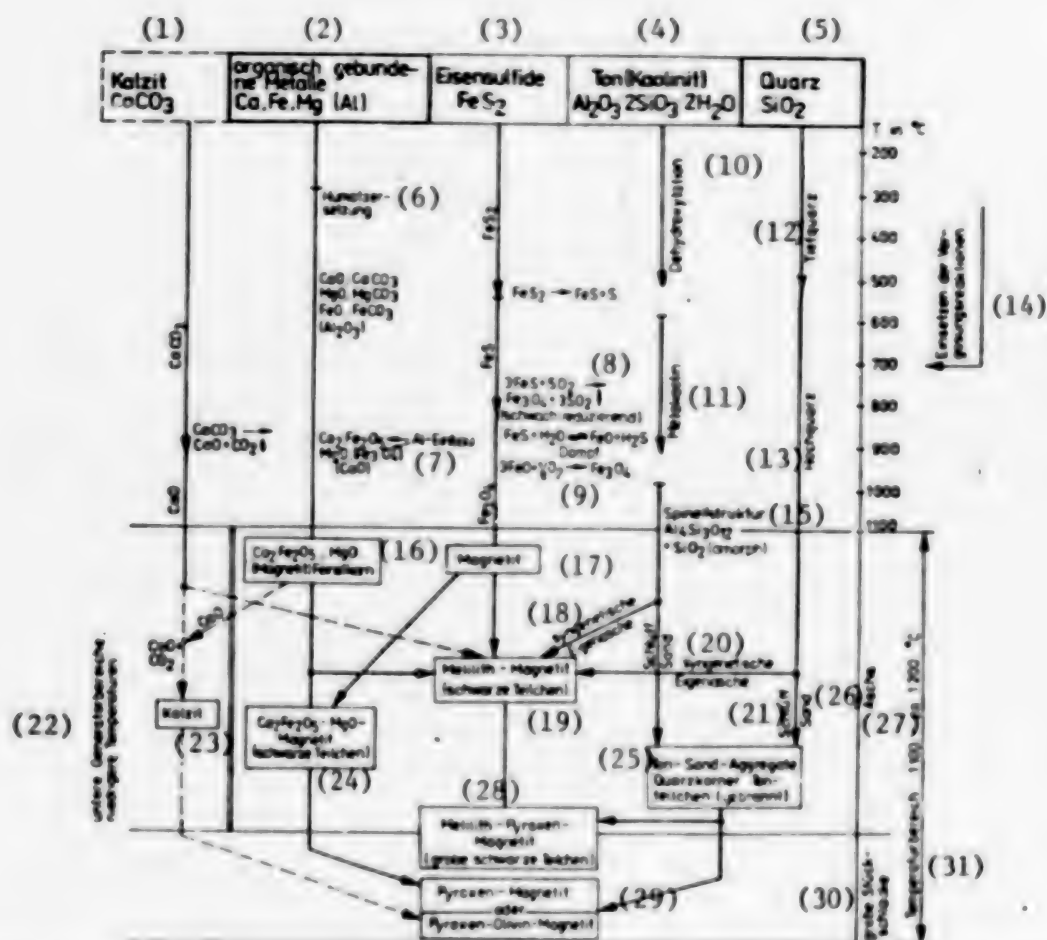


Figure 4. Material Transformations of Mineral Constituents in the Pressure Coal Gasification Process According to Kissinger?

Key:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Calcite | 19. Melilite-magnetite (black particles) |
| 2. Organically bonded metals | 20. Silt. Sand. |
| 3. Iron sulfides | 21. Syngenetic inherent ash |
| 4. Clay (kaolin) | 22. Lower generator regions, lower temperatures |
| 5. Quartz | 23. Calcite |
| 6. Humate decomposition | 24. Magnetite (black particles) |
| 7. Al substitution | 25. Clay-sand aggregates; quarts granules; clay particles (burned) |
| 8. (weakly reducing) | 26. Silt. Sand. |
| 9. Steam | 27. Ash |
| 10. Dehydroxylation | 28. Melilite-Pyroxene-Magnetite (coarse black particles) |
| 11. Metakaolin | 29. Pyroxene-Magnetite or Pyroxene-Olivine-Magnetite |
| 12. Low [temperature] quartz | 30. Coarse, lump slag |
| 13. High [temperature] quartz | 31. Temperature range 1100 - ca. 1200°C |
| 14. Beginning of gasification reactions | |
| 15. Spinel structure...(amorphous | |
| 16. (Magnetite) very fine granules | |
| 17. Magnetite | |
| 18. Syngenetic inherent ash | |

the process. This means that, from the charging of the fuel in the upper part of the reactor to the grate discharging the ash, no excessive fine grain formation should occur.² Fluidic calculations on the basis of a mathematical model^{3,4}, laboratory investigations on model reactors, as well as measurements on the test reactor, led to fundamental conclusions with regard to the grain build-up required at every level of the generator body. Figure 3 shows results of measurements on the generator model of flow distribution at excessive fine-grain content of the bed.

To establish the most important factors affecting fine-grain formation, a multitude of coal samples were subjected to thermal load under pressure and the generator process was simulated.

The most essential finding from these investigations is the conclusion that the main influence on dust formation in the case of gasification of East Elbe soft lignite comes from the mineral components.^{5,6} Figure 4 shows the genetics of material transformation of the mineral constituents in the pressure coal gasification process.⁷ From this it can be deduced that elevated SiO_2 and Fe_2O_3 contents bring about elevated fine-grain content in the gasification zone, when the final reaction temperature is below the sintering or melting point of the ash. By their nature clay minerals, because they sinter far below the ash melting point, bring about little fine-grain formation.⁷

At the GSP the main conclusion from these findings was the exact adjustment of the reactor exit temperature through suitable selection of the steam-oxygen ratio of the gasification agent, that is, approaching the so-called slag boundary so as to obtain a sufficiently coarse-grained ash granulate. This mode of operation does, however, hold the danger that in the presence of a ceramic lining of the generator, which for corrosive coals protects the interior jacket against corrosion, massive slagging through fusion of the generator slag with the ceramic material may occur.

This problem was likewise the subject of many years of development work and has been solved today. Corrosion and slagging are controlled by suitable metallic and ceramic construction materials which have successfully passed their long-time test for more than 4 years. In Figure 7 the arrangement of the proven interior jacket design is shown.

A further very important result of the fundamental investigation is the fact that the briquetting of soft lignite is of no advantage to the pressure coal gasification process and is not very necessary to the control of elevated reactor output.

The direct use of pit-moist raw lignite has been established in large-scale tests. Optimum conditions with regard to gas water collected and process stability were found when using a 1:1 mixture of raw lignite and briquettes. The use of soft lignite treated by the Fleissner process has not been tested on a large scale, but yields optimum results from laboratory tests.

3.2 Results from the Large-Scale Test Reactor

The main goal of large-scale test series was to test operation algorithms for fully automatic control as well as to test new or further developed

structural components. The result of this work is a process control model which makes use of microprocessor technology, wherein the following process optimization parameters are called in:

- steam-oxygen ratio in the gasification agent,
- temperatures in the ash zone of the generator,
- solid materials balance,
- quantity and quality of ash discharged from the generator,
- differential pressure across the generator bed.

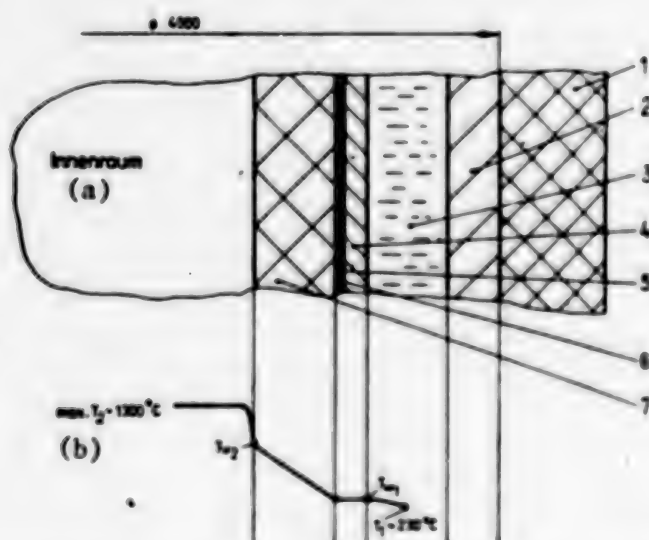


Figure 7. Arrangement of the Interior Jacket in the 4.0 Meter GSP-PKM Generator

1. Exterior insulation
2. Vessel wall (exterior)
3. Water-cooled jacket
4. Interior jacket--base sheet steel
5. Inner jacket--supporting sheet steel (special steel cladding)
6. Heat-conductive cement
7. Ceramic lining

Key:

- a. Interior space
- b. Maximum

The process control diagram is shown in Figure 8. By continually approaching the so-called slagging boundary, by reacting to fluctuations in ash melting point caused by the raw material, and by constantly controlling the ash bed level above the grate by means of temperature measurement and differential

pressure across the reactor bed, it is possible in connection with a newly developed coal distributor with a central raw gas outlet to achieve a generator output of 30,000 normal cubic meters per hour, even when using East Elbe soft lignites very difficult to classify in gasification technology.

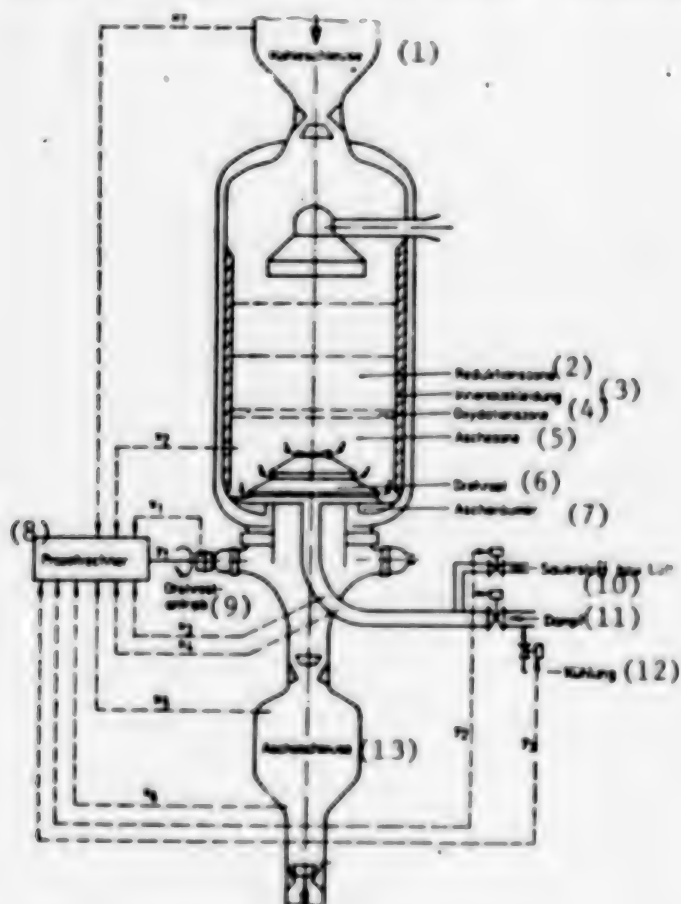


Figure 8. Process Control Diagram

- x₁ Rate of revolution of grate
- x₂ Ash zone temperatures (4 to 6 measuring points)
- x₃ Oxygen content of the gasification agent
- x₄ Gasification agent temperature
- x₅ Level in ash lock
- x₆ Grain structure
- x₇ Level in coal lock and number of discharges
- y₁ Regulation of rate of revolution
- y₂ Valve aperture in the oxygen or steam line
- y₃ Valve aperture in the coolant line

Key:

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Coal lock | 8. Process-control computer |
| 2. Reduction zone | 9. Revolving grate drive |
| 3. Interior lining | 10. Oxygen or air |
| 4. Oxidation zone | 11. Steam |
| 5. Ash zone | 12. Refrigeration |
| 6. Revolving grate | 13. Ash lock |
| 7. Ash evacuation | |

3.3. New Construction of Structural Components

The main wear parts in the pressure coal gasification generator are the mechanically and thermally loaded locking parts for the coal and ash locks, the interior jacket when there is corrosion, and the valves contacted by dust and ash particles. By constant improvements in the design of these items, susceptibility to failure was decidedly limited. Particular attention was devoted to the design of the upper part of the scrubber-cooler because of the possible temporary thermal overloading of the direct raw gas discharge from the generator.

The design in Figure 9 showing a ceramic lining as a heat dam layer has proved itself, thus eliminating local overheating of the steel jacket.

3.4. Use of Computer Systems

From the viewpoint of industrial measuring, control and regulating technology, the fixed bed pressure gasification plants are equipped to assure safe and economical plant operation.

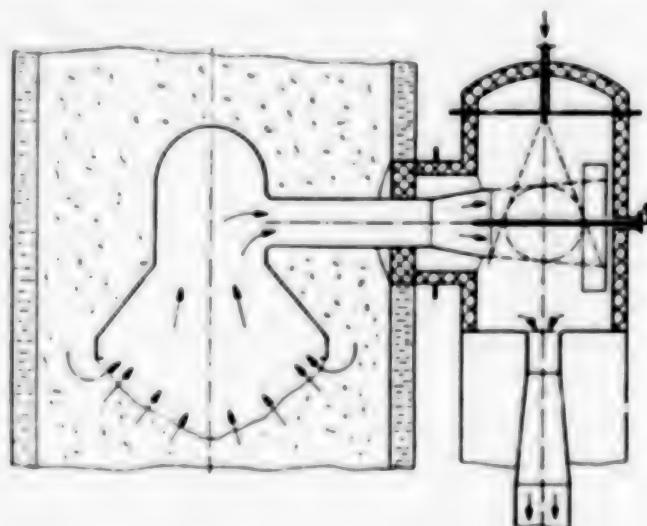


Figure 9. Crude Gas Discharge with Thermal Protection of the Scrubber-Cooler

Limiting values and other danger factors are signaled, and automatic safety devices protect the plants from explosive gas mixtures, excessively high pressures and temperatures.

The measured values required by the technological facilities are indicated locally, or after acquisition by other primary measurement instruments are transmitted to the measuring station.

The most important functional units of a microprocessor-controlled plant are:

- generator computer type K 1520,
- communications computer type K 1520,
- visual display units,

- serial printer,
- magnetic tape cassette units,
- keyboards.

The process of gas production in the fixed bed pressure gasifier is one of the complicated technological processes. For this reason control of this process is done increasingly by means of a microprocessor assigned to the gasifier. Eight generator units are to be controlled from one position. The first four generators have already been converted and are in continuous operation. At present the microprocessor controls the generator in operation; start-up and shut-down are still done by the plant operator.

The microprocessor controls the mixture of steam and oxygen in accordance with the preset ratio, corrects pressure and temperature fluctuations of the substances charged, carries out changes in output and advises the operators of deviations from the present operating regime.⁸ A few measurement values are controlled as to limiting value and are a component of an emergency shutdown system. When shutting down the generator, the processor monitors the correct sequence of shutting down the media in the gasification agent individual mixture.

The generator coal supply is controlled fully automatically by the microprocessor. There is automatic failure recognition and elimination, tightness control of the locking parts and the exact failure report to the operators. From the most important process parameters, the computer determines the optimum rate of revolution of the rotary grate and controls its speed.

All shift and day logging, as well as operating and failure logging, are carried out by the computer system.

The further development of the computer-controlled operation by a process computer which monitors and controls the entire system from gas production to gas purification plant is in preparation.

4. Environmental Protection Problems of Pressure Coal Gasification

The process of fixed bed pressure coal gasification is so highly developed that it fully meets the requirements applicable in Europe with regard to environmental effects.

The gas water collected is, for example, reduced in phenol content to 30 milligrams per liter by means of butyl acetate as a solvent, and the phenol is obtained as a valuable product. Further phenol reduction occurs in a biological post-purification, so as to fall below the prescribed value of 0.02 milligram per liter for introduction into public waters.

Through desulfurization of the gases there is materially lower sulfur loading of the environment, as compared with other processes using coal. Furthermore, auxiliary technology was developed to degrade environmental pollutants formed inevitably during fixed bed pressure gasification (such as off-gases, vapors from expanded gas water, ash, and coal dust), in such a way that they can be released without danger to the environment.

Particular attention is paid to technical safety in the fixed bed pressure gasification process.

The main problem here is to assure protection from internal explosion, which is achieved by constant process monitoring as well as reliable oxygen shutoff. The process of fixed bed pressure gasification requires auxiliary operations during start-up and shutdown, as well as for isolation for maintenance purposes. From the specific scientific investigations carried out for this purpose and from long years of operating experience, process-specific regulations were developed which make it possible to operate the process without danger of operating events.

Ignorance or nonobservance of danger signs arising in fixed bed pressure gasification often causes severe disturbances of the operation.

5. Further Developments

The lack of fossil energy carriers forces the GDR to maximum use of lignite as a material for energy production. Fixed bed pressure gasification is a process which, besides upgrading the lignite fuel, allows extraction of valuable substances from the lignite. In the GDR work is being pursued with determination of the further improvement of this process and on increasing the effectiveness and productive capacity of gas generation.

Here the main foci of development are shifting more and more to auxiliary and by-product processes, as well as to adherence to the burdens of environmental protection. After considerable increases in productive capacity of the main processes, the auxiliary and by-product processes should also be developed further in quality so as to utilize the productive capacity and the availability of the whole plant to the full extent.

The light, middle and heavy oils collected in the pressure gasification process, as well as tars, are fed to a thermal treatment [step] and take an important position in the total economy of the process. Work is under way to put dust-laden tars, which at this time are used only for their energy, to carbon chemical uses through appropriate treatment. Appropriate research work on mass transfer and treatment of these products is under way.

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ECONOMY

ROMANIA

MEASURES TO ENSURE BEST USE OF LAND OUTLINED

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 8, 28 Feb; No 10, 7 Mar 86

[Article by Dr. Engineer Ion Bold: "Regional Organization as a Uniform Basis for Efficiently Utilizing the Land Stock"]

[28 Feb 86 pp 6-7]

[Text] Within the extensive process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and of agricultural industrialization, modernization, and urbanization, regional organization has become an objective necessity for coordinating the multiple interests interacting in the same area and judiciously utilizing land resources. This is the natural continuation of the stage of development attained in regional organization, whose function is defined by the sum total of permanent measures designed to optimally restructure, shape, and equip each area in keeping with its natural-economic conditions, social particularities, and specific regional traits, thus increasingly asserting itself as an inseparable compartment of the complex development of the economy at regional level. Being the only means of coordinating area elements with planned development, regional organization emerges as a comprehensive solution for optimizing space utilization in accordance with the present and future needs of the society.

At the current stage the evolution of the concept of regional organization provides the basis for tackling problems from the general to the particular, from territorial systematization (at national, county, and communal level, and at the level of various functional and natural-economic zones) integrated in the planning of various territorial levels and national programs, to regional systematization and organization in correlation with water management and land amelioration, regional organization among units and within agricultural units, and ending with the organization and preparation of the land for various utilizations. The matter has acquired even greater scope in the light of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech and of the program concerning regional organization and increasing soil fertility, presented at the expanded plenum of the National Council of Agriculture, Food Industry, Forestry, and Water Management.

In this context, the agricultural sector, as the main land holder, is called upon to manage the land stock and to evenly develop the rural environment in

keeping with the present and future needs of the society, primarily imprinting uniform concepts and actions on all its research, planning, and administration bodies, and on all land holders. In fact, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's 19 November 1984 report to the 13th RCP Congress focused on "achieving a new agrarian revolution," for which purpose "we must unflinchingly implement the program of irrigation and land amelioration, increase the productive potential of the soil...and ensure a better territorial systematization, with a view to appropriately utilizing all the land, that being a fundamental condition for obtaining large and certain crops."

Given the widely varying climate, geomorphology, terrain, hydrology, and soil conditions prevailing, a uniform concept on the management of land resources, designed to meet the requirements of all the branches of the economy and to harmoniously develop the entire country, is the salient trait of Romania's policy of resource utilization. In accordance with the single national plan of socioeconomic development and in correlation with forecast and development studies for the various branches of the economy, the interaction of the various national programs with regional land systematization, organization, and amelioration is designed to conserve, improve, and efficiently utilize the land stock, to coordinate the deployment of all the production forces, and to increase the agricultural land area by 500,000 hectares.

Complex Activities with Profound Socioeconomic Implications

Organizing the land of the socialist agricultural units is a complex activity the object of which is to ensure optimal organizational-territorial conditions for concentrating and specializing the production, efficiently utilizing the land, securing technical equipment in keeping with specific natural-economic conditions and with plan provisions, distributing the agricultural production and various national programs according to zones (the program on increasing the agricultural and arable land; the program of territorial and locality systematization; the national program on hydrographic basins, water management, and land amelioration; the national programs on the development of the livestock, fruit, grapes, and vegetable sectors, and on conserving, improving, increasing the fertility, and efficiently utilizing the land stock, etc.), and technical operations (such as basic studies for conserving and improving the productive potential of the land stock, land record-keeping, records concerning the quality, amelioration, and classification of land plots, land amelioration operations, etc.).

The role of regional agricultural organization at unit level is to ensure coordination among land resources, ecological conditions, agricultural system, means of production, and manpower. Thus, regional organization is the essential management element of agricultural units which provides conditions for optimally carrying out the production processes, gives a concrete expression to the adaptation of profile indexes, establishes categories of utilization, delimitates farms (teams), organizes the land according to use, and ensures the network of access roads.

Particularly important is to establish categories of utilization by delimitating areas whose relief, soil, water regime, local climate, biological crop characteristics, and exploitation conditions are suited to the

requirements of a certain utilization. The suitability of land plots to various utilizations and crops constitutes the basis for restructuring utilizations and establishing the most rational utilization (by: eliminating the dispersion of uneconomic utilization categories on small, isolated, and interspersed plots; judiciously distributing crops in keeping with the overall regional elements; creating compact blocks of optimal economic dimensions for each utilization; using non-productive land and better utilizing poor soil; increasing the areas of superior grade soil, particularly arable land, etc.).

Preliminary discussions and analysis with the consumers and local bodies ensures optimal farm sizes in keeping with legal regulations, and makes it possible to improve and finalize the boundaries of farms and units (thus eliminating dispersion, unclear ownership, irrational crop allocation which disregards mandatory natural limits, hydrotechnical plans, and communication roads), and permits the stability necessary for organizing the land in keeping with each utilization and its specific particularities.

The organization of arable land--by establishing the number and size of crop rotation systems, the allocation and optimal size of fields and plots, and access roads--ensures conditions for efficiently utilizing the land, water resources, and the fleet of machines and tractors and for implementing soil and agricultural amelioration measures for each field and plot. The technical documentation on the organization of local areas and crop rotation systems in a uniform concept concerning the conservation, amelioration, increased fertility, and efficient utilization of the land stock will be based on the following principles:

--complete utilization and more efficient management of all plots of land, in correlation with the task to increase the arable area with a view to cultivating all the planned fields;

--ensuring the regional stability of all agricultural units by grouping their fields within economic perimeters and compact blocks that can be machine worked by joining plots and amending boundaries, thus improving land delimitation (by eliminating dispersion, unclear ownership, and irrational crop distribution considering mandatory limits);

--establishing the distribution and size of utilization categories in keeping with economic requirements and the suitability of the land for various utilizations and crops, and eliminating dispers (in small, isolated, and interspersed plots, etc.) and injudicious distribution considering natural limitations (relief, natural and man-made boundaries), etc.;

--optimally deploying, sizing, and delimitating production subunits (farms and teams) with a view to best utilizing the land, the other means of production, manpower, and all the resources available for increasing production;

--organizing the arable land within the framework of farms according to a complex of economic-organizational measures of establishing the number and area of crop rotation systems, the coordinated allocation of rotation fields, access roads, plots, and agricultural and soil amelioration measures, so as to ensure optimal conditions for utilizing the land and land amelioration

projects, and judiciously carrying out agricultural work as the means of promoting efficient agricultural systems;

--establishing rotation fields (size, location, boundaries) as units of cultivation, exploitation, preparation, and labor organization, which should be homogenous from the viewpoint of relief, soil, and productivity; uniform from the viewpoint of area and conditions for hydroamelioration and anti-erosion work; and compact from the viewpoint of appropriate forms of exploitation in keeping with natural limitations, thus precluding injudicious land allocation and crop dispersion, coordinating the construction of access roads, increasing the productivity of machines and tractors, etc.;

--ensuring the complete and differentiated exploitation of terrain, soil, and amelioration conditions by establishing agricultural and soil amelioration measures and projects according to each utilization, crop rotation system, field, and plot (in completing land amelioration and water management operations).

The aspects examined promise that the program on regional organization and increasing soil fertility will become integrated in the complex of measures designed to conserve, ameliorate, and increase the fertility and efficient use of the land stock, which are now being carried out under the supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture.

In 1985 12,388 vegetable farms were delimited within 4,462 socialist agriculture units and 559 joint state and cooperative councils (CUASC) by the Institute for Geodesy, Photogrammetry, Cartography, and Territorial Organization (IDFCOT) and the Office for Cadaster, Territorial Organization, and Crop Rotation Systems (OCOTA) with the participation of agricultural experts from farms, units, and joint state and cooperative councils. At the same time, the Research institute for Pedology and Agricultural Chemical Industry (ICPA) and the Institute for Agrarian Economy (IEA) established 89 agricultural soil and climatic zones and 307 subzones, and soil assessment records at farm level as a basis for improving the territorial distribution of agricultural production and the differentiation of crop structures and production levels. Alone in 1985, in keeping with the tasks of the Ministry of Agriculture, complex documentations were drafted by IGFCOT and OCOTA for the territorial and crop rotation organization of 120 joint state and cooperative agricultural councils, i.e., for 904 agricultural units and 2,475 farms incorporating over 1,700 hectares of arable land. This action is further continued and is scheduled to be completed in 1989, simultaneously with the adaptation and yearly updating of the elements of territorial organization in keeping with plan tasks--in the first 2 years after the organization--with a view to ensuring the implementation and observance of regional organization.

At the same time, in areas in which land amelioration projects are underway, these activities are carried out in correlation with regional organization. A uniform concept has been established for tackling and resolving problems concerning the preparation and organization of fields in coordination with the territorial systematization and standard hydrographic programs, the allocation of work among all technical equipment networks, and the natural and economic conditions specific of each area. In the 1986-90 5-year plan, the work will

continue in accordance with the national program of land amelioration in coordination with the design phases of territorial systematization.

In the past 5-year plan, regional organization documentation was also drafted for establishing and modernizing 32,400 hectares of vineyards, 50,900 hectares of fruit orchards, and for 417,900 pastures which, due to the manner of deployment, organization, and preparation have created optimal conditions for utilizing and exploiting the land; this activity will continue in the current 5-year plan, in accordance with the program on grapes and fruit growing, and the organization and preparation of the land earmarked for those crops within vineyards and orchards, and on natural and cultivated pastures.

The Distribution and Organization of Crop Rotation Systems

As a form of organization of arable land, the crop rotation system is a component part of the territorial organization of agricultural units which correlates plan provisions with the zonal distribution of agricultural production, various national programs, and the specific natural-economic conditions of each unit and farm. At the same time, it ensures optimal organizational-territorial conditions for concentrating and specializing the production and for efficiently exploiting the land and technical equipment.

We want to stress that the organization of arable land--i.e., of crop rotation systems--is achieved after the finalization of utilization indexes, the establishment of the branches of vegetable and animal production, the allocation of utilization categories, the amalgamation of fields and correction of boundaries, and the determination of the final perimeters of the farms. The essence of this process consists of determining crop rotation systems suited to the natural conditions and specific equipment of each optimally dimensioned and positioned agricultural unit and farm, correlating: zones of suitability as an expression of the specific ecological conditions of each area; the profile and structure of crops as an outcome of the correlation between plan tasks with the zonal distribution of agricultural production and the specific natural-economic conditions; the specific utilization, preservation, and amelioration conditions of each area--irrigation, inclination, and availability of direct functional links; the rotation requirements of the various crops, coordinating technological factors with econological and territorial factors; anti-erosion protection, conservation, and continuous amelioration requirements; distribution in relation to cattle and sheep production centers, which require sources of bulk fodder supplies in their proximity; concentrating the production of vegetables on compact, irrigated, and fertile fields, in the proximity of villages and means of transportation. Thus, crop rotation systems reflect the correlation between territorial conditions and crop structure, the productive potential of various land blocks, the utilization requirements of tractors, machines, and agricultural equipment, hydrographic basins, and labor organization.

As a general rule, within a judicious organization of arable land, crop rotation systems are distributed beginning with fodder crops, which depend on the location of zootechnical farms (and their size and technology); continuing with vegetables, which depend on irrigation, soil potential, means of transportation, and manpower in the case of rice, steeply inclined fields--

which require special measures to prevent and combat soil erosion--and ending with mixed crop rotation systems. currently, field crop rotation systems incorporate fodder crops as a good preparation for cereal grains, with the exception of the specialized livestock farms of agricultural units or economic associations, which organize fodder crop rotation systems.

The judicious distribution of crop rotation systems is achieved in accordance with natural limitations (valley directions, waterways, forests, perennial agricultural uses--pastures and vineyards, etc.), man-made limitations (roads, railways, canals, etc.), and conventional limitations (boundaries between units and farms, watering perimeter in sprinkler irrigation, etc.). The crop rotation systems are organized according to agricultural units and farms (teams) and within them according to bodies or blocks, in keeping with the organizational structure--territorial, terrain, soil, and stage of preparation of each unit and body of land.

One crop rotation system is organized according to: optimally dimensioned farms with uniform conditions of suitability, terrain, and preparation; the small plots existing around each village belonging to the agricultural production cooperative; each body of land with uniform conditions of suitability and economical size; two abutting bodies of land with similar suitability conditions (belonging to the same unit or farm) and functional connections between them; livestock farms and the neighboring land; land areas with the same terrain, irrigation, drainage, and anti-soil erosion conditions sharing functional connections between them.

Several crop rotation systems are organized when the land of the agricultural unit or farm can be grouped together in land blocks with different patterns of terrain (river banks, terrace, inclination) and soil potential (on the basis of the cartography and quality estimation of the land), but permitting the application of specific rotation systems and economic conditions.

[7 Mar 86 pp 7-8]

The Optimal Distribution and Sizing of Crop Rotation Systems

The land of each crop rotation system is divided into fields in keeping with the structure of the crops and territorial conditions (terrain, soil, preparation, and equipment), so as to make up compact and equal areas with the most even possible land. As a general rule, the fields should have boundaries (between units), access roads, and natural limits (woods, waterways, lakes, valleys, plantations--vineyards, orchards, hps, pastures, and hay fields) and be placed within reach of sprinkler irrigation, irrigation canals (with mobile or semistationary parts), and drainage canals, thus ensuring compact bodies of land and preempting uneconomical fragmentation, and technical equipment within judicious (4-6 years) crop rotation systems in accordance with the specific territorial conditions of each farm and rotation block. The size of crop rotation blocks is also decided according to territorial conditions (terrain, natural limits, irrigation, anti-erosion work, etc.), the size of farms (teams) belonging to the general organization of the land, the availability of access roads to the neighboring villages and production centers, and the conditions required for economical rotation systems.

The crop rotation systems are finalized in accordance with the need to ensure rotation and utilization conditions within each system, ensuring that each field provides: one, and only in exceptional cases two crops of the same group (observing the agrotechnical schedules established on each half of the field); economical conditions for the utilization of the agricultural machinery and irrigation systems (furrow or sprinkler irrigation), drainage canals, and hill cultivation systems (strips, herbaceous borders, terraces); soil of the same productive group, so as to permit the application of uniform land amelioration measures (restoration of the physical, chemical, and biological properties of the soil); implementation of an economical cultivation system by defining the means of application of all the stages of the production process and technologies at the lowest possible cost, i.e., specialized production systems for each field and farm.

The number of fields is established in keeping with the crop structure and the need to distribute the crops as judiciously as possible according to terrain, soil, mechanization requirements, and exploitation of hydroamelioration systems. The size of the fields is decided by the correlation between territorial conditions and crop structure, and the efficient exploitation of machines and tractors, so as to ensure the specialization and concentration of the production and optimal utilization of the land and of technical equipment.

The size of the fields and plots can be economically established only within the framework of territorial organization plans adapted to the particularities of each crop rotation block (terrain, soil, preparation, cultivation system, technical equipment, etc.).

In deciding the optimal size of fields and plots, the most important consideration is to ensure efficient mechanization (effective working time, production cost, fuel consumption, losses due to the destruction of plants at turn-around points, transportation of the crops from the field, etc.) and transportation, which accounts for a considerable share of the total production cost of the major crops.

The optimal field sizes recommended under the program are 100-200 hectares in the plains, 100 hectares in areas with a 3-8 percent inclination, 50 hectares in areas with a 8-16 percent inclination, and 25 hectares in areas with an inclination of over 16 percent; 25 hectares are also recommended for vegetable crops. These sizes are the result of research carried out by the IGFCOT on work and crops requirements in crop rotation systems characteristic of various zones, research which highlighted the following aspects:

--on flat and slightly inclined (0-12 percent) areas, the minimum length of a field should be 1,200 meters, but may be extended to 2,200 meters, while the area of the field should be approximately 100 hectares, depending on territorial particularities (natural and man-made limits, boundaries, irrigation and drainage systems, etc.). Each field (made up of one or more plots) must have the optimal dimensions established according to the specific traits of each area;

--on areas with an average angle of inclination (12-18 percent), the optimal area of a field is 60-80 hectares, with a length of 1,200-2,000 meters (depending on terrain conditions);

--on areas with a steeper inclination (over 18 percent), the optimal area of the field is determined by the ratio between the sides (the width and length being dictated by the terrain) and by anti-erosion measures (terraces, herbaceous borders, strip cultivation), ranging between 15-35 hectares.

The shape of the fields (plots) must permit the performance of productive and efficient machine work. For this purpose, the best field (plot) shape is a rectangle or rectangular trapeze with long parallel sides corresponding to the working direction of the field. It is important that in each case the field should be made up of one plot or an "n" number of optimally sized plots as one unit of cultivation, exploitation, and preparation; any shapes and sizes other than the optimal ones add to the cost of mechanized operations and transportation.

Increasing the Area of Agricultural and Arable Land

Within the framework of actions designed to better utilize the land stock, the task envisaged in the directives of the 13th RCP Congress to increase the agricultural area by 500,000 hectares has generated a series of measures aimed at studying, identifying, and establishing the necessary preparation work and establishing the required investment funds. Non-agricultural land such as woods that are not included in the forest stock or included within dammed up areas, sandy and stony tracts, clefts, ravines, land slides, marshes, ponds, reed plots, salt marshes, temporary pits [gropi de imprumut], waste and other dumps, secondary construction areas outside the built-up perimeter of localities, and so forth, totaling over 2.5 million hectares, are the last remaining resources; such areas are normally affected by serious forms of deterioration, which make them difficult to prepare and exploit and require complex measures (dams, waterway regulation, capital leveling, reshaping, draining, irrigation, anti soil erosion work, etc.) and long periods of amelioration, depending on the source and nature of the deterioration. Concepts concerning the full and complete utilization of all land resources, correlated with programs on territorial organization, water management, land amelioration, regional and urban systematization, etc., are both very topical and laborious in view of the fact that the non-agricultural plots are widely scattered over 10 percent of the country's territory, while the agricultural land features 63.7 percent restrictions and deterioration (32.9 percent erosion and land slides, 12.5 percent excess humidity, 8.8 percent acidity, 3.7 percent salinity and alkalinity, 2.5 percent soil skeleton, rubble, boulders, and rocks, 2.9 percent sand, temporary pits, waste and other dumps, and the arable land features erosion and land slides on 20 percent of the area, excess humidity on 15 percent, and acidity, salinity, and alkalinity on 12 percent.

Currently, the feasibility of utilizing such areas has been verified by studies of the protection and improvement of the land stock, quality records, and regional organization, the conclusion of which is that the arable area must be increased at the expense of secondary utilization categories; the

agricultural stock may not be reduced, and agricultural plots diverted to other uses must be replaced by non-agricultural and non-productive plots; fields which have totally or partially lost their agricultural or silvicultural potential because of deterioration must be enclosed in amelioration perimeters; the area cultivated to vineyards and fruit orchards will be maintained at the present level but will be reduced in the future, and will be modernized and developed within areas earmarked for the purpose instead of presently existing isolated and scattered vineyards and orchards on arable land, and on inclined tracts; aging pastures located in favorable soil and inclination areas will be turned into meadows, and in places where forest vegetation serves for soil protection, they will be transferred to the forestry stock; fisheries will be developed on marshy, salty, and other non-productive areas unsuitable for cultivation; agricultural tracts affected by land slides and excessive erosion can be used to plant woods; agrozootechnical and social-cultural projects will be sited on free land, within the construction perimeter of localities, particularly on eroded or agriculturally unsuitable land; some utilization will be devised for every non-productive plot of land with a view to incorporating it into the economic flow (for agriculture, forestry, fishery, investment sites, etc.).

In view of the fact that it constitutes a current priority, the program is carried out by experts from the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, county agricultural directorates, research and design institutions, county offices dealing with the cadaster, regional organization, and crop rotation systems, county offices of pedological and agrochemical studies, land amelioration enterprises, water management offices, and regional agricultural research stations which, in cooperation with the land holders, have identified some 220,000 hectares as sources for increasing the agricultural areas. In point of fact, the centralized sources identified and signaled by county committees of uniform management of the land stock and by permanent bureaus of the executive committees of county people's councils demonstrate that the existing resources can serve to increase the arable area by 150,000 hectares, pastures and hayfields by 60,000 hectares, and vineyards and orchards by 7,000 hectares. Their utilization will be made possible by complex preparation operations (dams, drainage, anti-erosion work, reclamation, thicket clearing, terracing, leveling, irrigation, etc.), followed by amelioration work, which will require considerable funds in addition to the resources of agricultural units and people's labor.

Increasing the agricultural and arable area is very important if we consider the task of reclaiming the 8,000-12,000 hectares of land that are yearly diverted from agricultural production through investment projects, a fact which makes it necessary to find new resources. This requires us to restructure land utilization in keeping with terrain, soil, erosion, and preparation conditions, by eliminating the spread of uneconomical utilizations and establishing compact blocks of land for each utilization, which is optimally achieved only through territorial organization and crop rotation systems.

We want to stress that, although opportunities exist for increasing the agricultural area (by 500,000 hectares) through complex land utilization operations carried out by specialized units or by land holders, the main

factor remains the economical utilization of the existing resources by promoting efficient agricultural systems and soil preparation solely within the framework and on the basis of territorial organization.

At the same time, the plan tasks allocated to each county, joint state and cooperative agricultural council, and unit blending potential resources (primarily the terrain, soil quality, and land amelioration) with the regional distribution of agricultural production must create a stable profile for each unit and farm, as the basis for establishing efficient utilizations and territorial organization according to each farm and unit (which should remain stable for the duration of at least one 5-year plan).

Territorial Organization in Accordance with Requirements

Currently, due to its complex nature, territorial organization can be conceived only as an interdisciplinary action par excellence, embracing related domains (topography, pedology, agricultural technology, geography; economic sciences: planning, statistics, agrarian economy, and enterprise management; land amelioration, land cadaster, land law, architecture, etc.) at various levels of territorial organizations, beginning with regional systematization to the organization of the territory within units and categories of utilization. The scope and complexity of these actions have led to the creation of a new profession: territorial organizer; thanks to his multilateral knowledge, a territorial organizer can correlate and coordinate the various activities that contribute to understanding, utilizing, and regulating the territory.

The deficiencies currently existing in the location of various investment projects, the management of land resources, and their harmonious coordination can be traced back to shortage of cadres and impossibility to cover the multitude of problems arising from the processes of development and management of the land resources. The current county offices dealing with the cadaster and the organization of the territory and of crop rotation systems have an insufficient number of territorial organizers (43), whereby successive cadres out at the former county agricultural directorates affect primarily those offices, so that at present some counties have one or no territorial organization specialist, although they have to deal with the transfer and record-keeping of land resources. There is also a shortage of topographers, which means that cadaster recording occurs at intervals of more than 3-4 years, although such records are very important for the identification and management of the land resources.

In order to fulfill the current tasks, the above mentioned county offices must be developed so as to meet the requirements. They must be staffed with 4-5 territorial organizers, 2-3 pedologists, and an appropriately increased number of topographical technicians, subengineers, and engineers, with a view to opening and updating cadaster records, which are the basis for land quality records and territorial organization.

These offices may become self-financed units subordinated to both the county people's councils and, from a technical viewpoint, to the Institute of Geodesy, Photogrammetry, Cartography, and Territorial Organization [IGFCOT]. Thus, the

design and supervision of territorial organization and crop rotation systems can be provided on an ongoing basis by the county offices for the cadaster and territorial organization and IDFCOT, as specialized units coordinated by the Ministry of Agriculture and by the county agricultural directorates respectively. The planning will thus be done by teams of specialists (agronomists, pedologists, topographers, etc.) with the participation of the chief engineers of the joint state and cooperative councils and agricultural units, regional research institutes and national institutes of agricultural research, county offices of pedology and agrochemistry, and land amelioration enterprises.

According to the calculations of the Territorial Organization and Land Stock Directorate of the Ministry of Agriculture, in order to implement the program it is urgently necessary to provide an additional 200 territorial organizers, 100 pedologists, and 300 topographers and cartographers, in accordance with the specific nature and complexity of the work carried out in each county. This will contribute to ensuring all the conditions required to implement the territorial organization program in keeping with the needs of the society.

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ECONOMY

ROMANIA

TECHNOLOGIES FOR MORE EFFICIENT USE OF REUSABLE ENERGY

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian 7 Mar 86 pp 3-4

[Article by Al. Nicoara, M. Georgescu, and C. Patrascu: "Efficient Organizational Structures to Exploit Reusable Resources"]

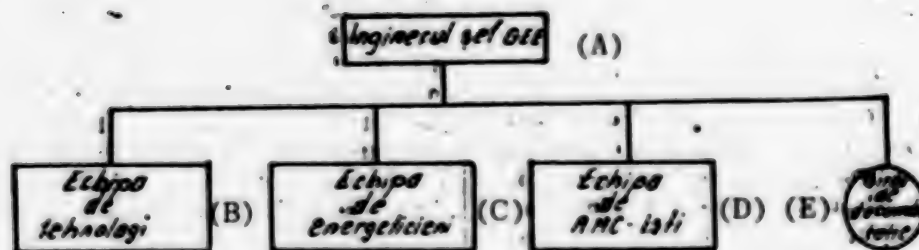
[Text] Valuable Experience with Great Expansion Potential

Saving energy resources through all possible means, and improving their utilization in manufacturing processes, represents a constant concern for all economic units in the chemical industry. The experience gained so far has shown that in a petrochemical combine such as the one in Pitesti, it is possible to save up to 15 percent of the total resources utilized at a relatively low cost, 15-20 percent of the resources at a greater cost, and 20-24 percent at major cost.

Calculations have indicated that for a petrochemical combine which processes 3 million tons of crude oil per year, a 15 percent reduction in energy consumption leads to annual energy savings amounting to 40,000 tcc (tons of conventional fuel). At the Pitesti Combine, in 1985 alone, the savings obtained by recovering torch gases from the carbon black plant--used to produce steam at 35 bars and 450 degrees C, as well as electricity--amounted to 53,622 tcc, while the energy obtained by recovering burned gases from the catalytic reformation installation added up to 7700 tcc.

The major difficulty in saving energy within an operating technological system is not in finding technical solutions, generally well known and verified in practice, which require heat recovery and regeneration, as well as readjustments in primary energy consumption, but rather in locating curtailable sources of energy. So as to avoid confusion or to eliminate the need to specify the technical means through which the energy can be curtailed (recovery, regeneration, utilization readjustment), in what follows we will use the terms "econoenergy" for recoverable, regenerable, or reusable energy, and "unconsumed energy" for energy reused in technology as such or as transformed into another form of energy.

The discovery and exploitation of econoenergy sources is influenced by a number of factors, among which are: blurring of energy considerations--at times to the point of extinction--by the importance of manufacturing



Key: (A) GEE chief engineer
 (B) Technologist team
 (C) Electric power specialist team
 (D) AMC team
 (E) Documentation office

technology problems; some weaker energy performances do not affect the operating reliability of technical installations; routine processing on the part of some installations operators causes them to "not see" econoenergy sources; and ignorance of ways and means to approach and solve econoenergy problems. A systematic and unified approach to energy savings problems in a petrochemical combine, both to eliminate the factors mentioned above, and to prepare and adopt appropriate solutions, requires a suitable organizational setting as well as an engineering activity--experimental and computational--that is correctly oriented and that has sound scientific and technological foundations.

Among energy savings actions and measures, an extremely important role is played by those of an organizational and technological nature. In this respect, the research carried out at the Pitesti Petrochemical Combine has disclosed the need to establish an energy savings group (GEE) to prepare and exploit econoenergy sources. The group falls under the direct jurisdiction of the director general or director for technology; it is formed and acts according to project-based management principles. The general objective of the the group is to discover econoenergy sources, adopt appropriate technical solutions, and supervise their implementation so as to produce econoenergy. The group consists of engineers, foremen, operators, technologists, electric power specialists, electricians, specialists in measurement and control instruments aliC), and at least one economist. The GEE has a pronged organizational structure, under the direct leadership of the group's chief engineer who manages three teams and a documentation office.

The technologist team is composed of two collectives: one consisting of 2-4 technological engineers from the combine's technical engineering group and/or from technical and production departments that specialize in econoenergy problems and that are permanently attached to the GEE; the second is formed of coordinating department heads, installation heads, chemical operators, and engineering interns, who remain members of the GEE for as long as the installations to whose personnel they belong are subject to energy analyses and support the adjustments required by the energy savings measures formulated by them.

The team is responsible to the GEE leader for the quality and promptness of econoenergy source discoveries, and for implementing recommended solutions. The tasks of engineers and technical operators concern the following: prepare installations for energy analysis; obtain experimental data (flows, temperatures, pressures, compositions); process the data to determine energy performances and sources of econoenergy; write project reports which become GEE documents (kept by the GEE documentation office); participate--part of the team members--in formulating optimum solutions, which are validated in part by economic calculations performed by the group's economist; participate in technical adjustments and changes required by the solutions adopted and implemented, until the expected performance is achieved.

The electric power specialist team consists of 3-5 engineers and foremen specialized in thermal energy and electrical engineering. Their tasks concern the energy performance of moving equipment--pumps, compressors, gas turbines, rotary filters, and so on--in installations subjected to energy analyses. The team of AMC specialists is composed of 1-2 engineers and 2-3 AMC foremen, who are permanent members of the GEE, and through cooperation, of AMC operators in the installations subject to analysis. The team's responsibility is to assure the operation of measurement and automation devices during experiments, since the correctness of conclusions about econoenergy sources depends on the correctness of the analyses performed.

The group's major concern is to formulate a long range econoenergy plan (2-4 years) as a basis for annual plan drafts. Since econoenergy sources are not known in detail at the inception of the activity, the plans include objectives of a more general nature. As the activity proceeds, testing of installations with high outputs or with high temperature levels will define specific objectives (such as higher thermal efficiency in pyrolysis furnaces, or changes in preheating procedures at the DAV installation).

This year's major objectives for the combine's group are: fully complete planned recovery installations; finalize the design of installations included in long range programs; intensify research on available, non-recovered energy resources. The measures established for the first two objectives seek to recover the heat from burned gases at the 1 and 2 dimethylterephthalate pyrolysis installations (savings of 10,000 tcc/year); recover the heat from returning water at cooling towers (4100 tcc)--for recovery installations under construction; and recover the heat from burned gases at the incineration of ciaurice [as published] water (29,000 tcc/year), from process condensers at the pyrolysis installation (5600 tcc/year), and from hot products in urban heating (82,000 tcc)--areas in which additional savings will be obtained with recovery installations currently at an advanced stage on designers' boards. The fulfillment of these measures is expected to achieve an increase of about 5 percent over last year, in the level of recovered resources.

Particularly important are the experiments conducted at installations subject to energy analyses, which include: a data inventory (technical parameters, geometric characteristics, physicochemical analyses, operating parameters of moving equipment) necessary to establish energy balances; verification,

replacement, adjustment, and installation of measurement and automation devices at the system being tested; collecting data for the inventory. Based on these experiments, GEE members obtain energy balances and calculate the energy (thermal) performance of equipment in the system under test.

An analysis of the results discloses the possibilities for using econoenergy through heat recovery and regeneration, or through redimensioning the installed power of electric motors. At the same time, the group also studies new areas in which energy savings can be obtained, such as: recovery of burned gases at the ethyl alcohol installation; recovery of residual gas overpressure at the toluene dealkylation installation; as well as other heat recoveries from pyrolysis and carbon black installations. It is estimated that the completion of these studies will lead to savings of about 10,000 tcc/year. Possible alternatives are created in the wake of such analyses, whose economic efficiency (estimated at first) is determined from unit costs for the produced econoenergy. This phase has drawn specialists from higher education and from petrochemical research and design institutes, whose experience in industrial research can make major contributions to reliable results.

This experimental data, detailed calculations, and analyses are presented in a final project report with equal contributions from the econoenergy group and the designer involved in the changes and modifications of the technical installation. GEE members participate directly in the implementation of solutions--which in many cases requires appeal to a specialized design institute, since they are responsible for supervising the completion, start-up, and operation of modifications at planned parameters.

GEE organization and operation is a requirement at petrochemical combines; the group is conceived as a shop which ranges over the entire combine, and whose objective is to contribute to the full utilization of reusable energy resources. Through its structure and mode of operation, its relatively broad range of specialists, and its respect for the principle of collective decision, the GEE is in a position to solve econoenergy problems; the efficiency of its activity is measured by the amount of econoenergy it produces, and of course, by the unit cost of this energy.

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ECONOMY

ROMANIA

EFFORTS TO INCREASE CRUDE OIL, GAS PRODUCTION

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian 7 Mar 86 pp 4-6

[Article by Valerian Davidoiu: "Greater Efforts to Increase Oil and Gas Production"]

[Text] As part of the broad development of the national economy, a special role is played by the extraction industry, called upon to provide other sectors with the material and energy resources they need to carry out their production activities. In this respect, it is important for each specialized enterprise to take the technical and organizational measures necessary for a superior utilization of production factors, so that activities will proceed steadily and plan provisions will be fulfilled completely and on schedule.

At the Pitesti Drilling and Extraction Trust and its units, the requirement to achieve the production established for this year by the plan--higher than that of 1985--has imposed the adoption, since the fourth quarter of last year, of a broad program of measures and actions, founded on detailed analyses of production processes, and of local and still unused reserves for greater activity. Thus, in periods predating this year's plan and with the support of the specialized research institute in Cimpina, detailed analyses were carried out on each well, deposit, and brigade, and on the entire well inventory, to establish efficient solutions for optimum utilization of production facilities, perfect technologies, improve maintenance and repairs, and increase labor productivity.

In the wake of these activities, programs were formulated with suitable measures to intensify and rapidly finalize activities at research wells in prospecting zones, and to improve geological investigations by providing geological cabins, laboratory barracks, microscopes, quartz lamps, and other equipment. Similarly, in drilling activities, these programs seek among other things to assure the conditions necessary for greater utilization of existing installations, to accurately implement the operating conditions and technologies stipulated in research and execution projects, reduce unproductive time--especially by preventing technical accidents, and so on. In order to fully complete the oil and gas plan, actions are taken to place in production,

on schedule, a larger number of wells, to increase their exploitation coefficient, increase the recovery of oil from deposits, and reduce the duration of downtime by improving interventions.

The activity carried out during the first part of the year, and the efforts made to accurately implement the adopted technical and economic measures, has led to important production results. In January for instance, substantial overages were recorded at a number of physical production areas: 9.1 percent for usable gases, 2.5 percent for commercial gases, 3.8 percent for gasoline, 3.4 percent for de-ethanized gases, 0.4 percent for ethane, and 11.4 percent for total drilled meters; in addition, the production of goods was 1.5 percent above expected values during the same period.

Although large, due to bad weather the results obtained in February do not fulfill the plan's provisions, especially for oil extraction. The failure to achieve full production in all areas is due to many causes, primarily associated with the internal organization of activities, as well as with shortcomings in the collaboration with various material suppliers. Large unproductive times are still found in drilling activities, where downtimes of an organizational nature predominate, due especially to delays in the supply of various materials of primordial necessity (drill pipes, roller bits, chemicals, and so on). At the same time, the negative effects of under-exploitation have been felt at some wells, "losing" significant production; added to these is the inadequate supply of some materials, spare parts, and tools.

The need to recover these losses in the shortest possible time and to assure that the plan is fulfilled to the letter for the first quarter and the entire year, have forced the entire work collective of the trust and its units to review programs, and adopt new measures designed to eliminate shortcomings and raise the exploitation level of domestic reserves to a superior level. Special efforts are presently being made to implement the indications of the secretary general of the party, Nicolae Ceausescu, regarding improved organization and modernization of production processes, which in the oil extraction field have specific features. As a result, programs of measures have been formulated at all derricks for concrete objectives, some of which--that do not require investment funds--expected to be completed by June of this year, and others--after fundamental modifications--scheduled for completion by 1990. We want to point out that the Rimnicu Vilcea Derrick has been designated by the Oil Ministry as a model unit, where these action will be performed immediately, and for which staffs from the ministry management together with specialists from the Cimpina Research Institute and from the trust, have conducted detailed analyses at each objective, well, and work site.

The production organization and modernization programs stipulate concrete measures to reorganize and redimension existing deposits, increase mechanization in the handling of raw and other materials, and computerize management data. As a result, gasoline storage at the Icoana gasoline extraction station will be resized and redesigned, materials storage at the

Pitesti gas de-ethanization station will be refitted when capital repairs are made to the installation, and reusable drilling fluids will be fully recovered from finished wells. In order to improve transportation, a pipeline network is being built to collect gas condensates in the Merisani-Vilcele zone, automatic shutoff valves that operate in case of damages are being installed on the Iancu-Jianu-Pitesti gas pipeline, the replacement of activated charcoal in absorbers is being mechanized, as are the hydraulic valves in gasoline extraction control boards, and so on. At the mechanical shops of the Bascov Shops and Transportation Base, as well as at oil production derricks, measures are planned which will lead to lower metal consumption, a higher machine-tool utilization coefficient, rational use of existing production areas, and higher production volume.

A significant number of measures are aimed at organizing and modernizing oil and gas drilling and extraction, which are the specific tasks of the trust. In drilling activities, the goals are more rapid drilling, improved project quality, prevention of technical accidents, reduced consumption of any nature, shorter finalization period for wells, and more rapid dismantling, transportation, and assembly of installations, all of them ultimately aimed at higher meter count per installation and per year, and a higher total figure for meters of drilling. To achieve these objectives, measures are intended to: increase to 200-300 hours the time for which the bit is maintained at the bottom of a well, by installing improved slip bearings on drills; increase the operating time of mud pumps by using corrosion resistant nitride and boride jackets; improve the quality of drilling fluids by using cleaning devices and screens; reduce the handling time of drilling rigs by means of automatic locks and mechanized grips.

The measures adopted in oil and gas extraction are meant to: perform various timely operations to prevent sand floods; use level programmers at wells being pumped; stimulate each deposit with appropriate substances; optimize pumping parameters; extend the use of gas-lift valves and optimize operating conditions at gas-lift wells by means of computer programs; expand nitrogen leveling operations at deep and intermediate depth wells; expand the inventory of closed system separators; generalize the use of volume counters and flow meters; and so on. Also included are measures to increase the recovery of oil from deposits by expanding conventional water injection, improve and expand underground combustion processes, and initiate new and experimental processes. This is intended to extend the duration of well operation between two interventions--together with improved interventions, increase the production capacities of wells, assure optimum outputs, and improve production monitoring and the quality of crude oil delivered to refineries, as well as the quality of gases intended for processing in gasoline extraction or de-ethanization installations.

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ECONOMY

ROMANIA

PLANS TO INCREASE COAL PRODUCTION

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian 7 Mar 86 p 6

[Article by Florea Stoenescu, director of the Cimpulung-Muscel Mining Enterprise: "Additional Coal Production"]

[Text] The further development of the domestic energy and raw materials base requires that more emphasis be placed on the actions undertaken to steadily increase coal production and improve the exploitation of solid fuels. These are also the concerns of the workers' collective at the Cimpulung Mining Enterprise, which this year has produced an additional 154,000 tons of coal compared to 1985, intended primarily for power and household use.

During the first two months of this year, the enterprise has extracted and delivered to the national economy additional amounts of coal beyond the quantities stipulated by the plan: 14.5 percent more during January (with 25.55 percent more than during the same period last year from underground), and 32.04 percent more from underground production during February. These results were made possible by intensified actions and measures taken as early as the end of last year, to assure the conditions necessary for fulfilling the planned production.

The attention of specialists has primarily been and is now aimed at exploiting the full coal reserve potential available in the Cimpulung-Muscel basin. In this respect, geologic exploration and industrially implemented research have made it possible to increase the production capacity of the enterprise, especially by exploiting Dacian age coal at the Cotesti and Aninosa mines, and at the Aninosa open pit. Geologic drilling has recently disclosed new mine fields in the Capu Piscului and Jugur Est zones, documentation for which has been prepared and forwarded for approval by the appropriate jurisdictions, so that geologic and technical research activities may start as soon as possible for planning the new exploitations.

At the same time, the collective has striven to maintain the production capabilities of existing mine fields, such as the ones in the Slanic sector, by digging the Slanic Sud well, whose purpose is to concentrate the activity at the Slanic and Berevoiesti mines. During the immediately upcoming period, the Godeni (by digging the Godeni Sud well) and Jugur (by digging the Jugur Est well) mines will be expanded using the experience and results obtained in the Slanic sector, thus making it possible to concentrate exploitation activities at the Boteni and Jugur mines, with positive effects on higher labor productivity and economic efficiency.

The practice of recent years has shown that plan assignments can be exceeded substantially through greater mobilization of efforts on the part of the collective. This requires first of all, complete utilization of existing reserves, and the most rapid elimination of lingering shortcomings. Starting from these considerations and an analysis of last year's activity in the enterprise, the recent general assembly of workers has established a broad program of measures designed to achieve the highest level of coal production. Some of the major actions included in the program are:

Raise the technical level of production, and expand the mechanization and automation of major technical processes. During this year for instance, we will expand coal cutting and mechanized support of front walls using high capacity installations, thus increasing labor productivity to 13-15 t/position. Greater mechanization will also be provided for advancement operations, achieving a mechanization level of 46.8 percent compared to 33.5 percent in 1985. The general assembly also approved the enterprise modernization program for 1986 to 1990, which is designed to bring great quality improvements in the technical equipment and technology of coal extraction activities;

Strictly apply the principles of global contract remuneration and increase the material vested interest of the entire collective in the scheduled completion of plan tasks. The experience gained so far in this respect, and last year's results of more than 105,000 tons of coal delivered over and above the plan, are concrete proof that consistent application of a global contract can produce achievements much higher than the tasks stipulated for 1986 and the entire five-year plan. In this respect, notable for the labor force are the actions stipulated to raise the level of the personnel's qualification and multi-qualification, so that the advanced technology with which the enterprise will be endowed will be used at high efficiency;

Increase labor productivity at work stations and throughout the exploitation in a sustained manner. Taking January alone as an example, labor productivity expressed in terms of yield and compared to the same period of last year, has increased by 21.75 percent per position, 6.49 percent per exploitation, and 6.05 percent for the enterprise. A more substantial increase in labor productivity is expected for the next period from tests and general use of the submining method in Dacian deposit mines.

Along with these actions, and also for this year, concrete measures have been taken to recover, recondition, and reuse equipment and spare parts, assure the operation of all production facilities at planned parameters, supply the necessary raw materials on schedule, and so on. All these measures assure the conditions necessary to fulfill on schedule and at a high level the provisions for extraction and delivery of additional amounts of coal to power production plants.

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ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

FEC MEMBER SUKOVIC DISCUSSES NEW LAWS, POWER REDISTRIBUTION

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5-6 Apr 86 p 9

[Interview with Dr Mijat Sukovic, member of the Federal Executive Council, by Dara Vucinic and Jasna Kesic: "The Truth Is the Truth Even When It Is Bitter"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] How to arrive at what needs to be attained: redistribution of power (and also the wherewithal) to the advantage of the workers and the superiority of self-management over statism? That was also the goal which justified all our earlier laws embodying the system and other changes, and yet nothing essential has ever changed.

This was the first question we put to Dr Mijat Sukovic, vice chairman of the Federal Executive Council. We felt that in view of his past experience and activity in the government Dr Sukovic would want to talk about power and related issues and would have something to say. We do not seem to have been wrong, although the federal vice premier came to this interview "in advance of the congress" virtually straight from his hospital bed, and his answers came "off the top of his head."

[Answer] There have been changes of the situation, and some are taking place now. Not always for the better unfortunately. But as for the question you put, it is the right one and the key question today. Because of that word--HOW. Not whether and what, which is a frequent topic, but precisely how. Yet it is not easy to give an answer to that question. Especially a complete answer.

An answer requires an entire study or even several studies. The answer necessitates and presupposes a marriage of revolutionary vision with an appreciation of the present capabilities and the real and objectively given obstacles for realization of that vision. It also demands and presupposes a marriage of theory and practice and on the one hand a rejection of certain illusions and dogmas that have been deceptive in the past, and on the other not a single step can be omitted if at a given moment it is possible to take that step in the direction of achieving that vision, a step also made possible by the material conditions of society and the balance of power within it.

I emphasize: the capabilities of society. After all, even wonderful and humanistic socialist solutions, if they lie outside reality, can often produce negative results. They may even bring on disaster.

But even though this kind of interview is not sufficient to answer the question that has been put, I will be so bold as to state certain elements required for answering it.

First, it is the task of the entire era of the socialist revolution to see that the working class, the workers organized through self-management and socially oriented, will in practice have the decisive word in decisionmaking. In the revolutionary stages, which, to use an expression of Veljko Vlahovic, are measured in minutes on the great clock of history, the important thing is the direction of the movement toward redistribution of power and the real power which the working class has. That direction is marked by social ownership and socialist self-management in their conception and in their original definition in the constitution, in their original content.

I am convinced that the direction has been well-defined in this stage of our revolution. But it requires a concretization that is better than the one which we now have in society.

Assessed in topical terms, from the standpoint of the present moment, the lever which needs to be pulled to arrive at a redistribution of power and the actual superiority of the self-managers, is consistent application of the basic features of the economic system contained in the new laws concerning the plan, foreign exchange transactions, and other foreign economic relations, concerning prices, concerning the bases of the banking and credit system, which were adopted in late 1985.

Four Features

Those features embodying the economic system established an economic system different from the one that was in place until 1985. Different in that it consolidated more fully the role of economic criteria in the conduct of economic transactions and in development policy and current policy, in that it has taken away from sociopolitical communities a number of rights which until now they have had in the economy and which made it possible for them to take up a commanding position in economic developments. Different also in that it places economic entities in a position which gives them an economic incentive and compels them on an economic basis to establish more and more mutual linkages throughout the entire economic space of Yugoslavia, which will lead toward economic integration of Yugoslavia on a self-management basis, and that in turn will make it possible for the Federation to keep its hand on the key levers for economic development and at the same time free itself from the practice of intervening in the economy on a daily basis. This economic system has the capability of helping to overcome autarky and parcelization in the economy.

[Question] You say that that is the lever which should be pulled from the standpoint of the present moment. What lever or levers should be pulled if an assessment is made from a longer-range vantage point?

[Answer] Evaluated from a long-range vantage point, the first thing that it is essential to do is to develop and elaborate the conception of social ownership. That conception can and must be developed in such a way as to incorporate at least four new features.

First, there is an urgent need for a solution that will establish the obligation of the organization of associated labor to relinquish the means of labor which it is no longer using to other social juridical persons that will use them in keeping with their purpose and which by their use will augment the fund of social property. Otherwise we cannot expect the necessary rate of increase of the socialization of the means of production, but a strengthening of group-ownership tendencies in which there is no redistribution of power to the advantage of the self-managers, nor can there be.

Second, the present feature of requiring sociopolitical communities to deposit their funds in the national banks, which in fact governmentalizes a sizable portion of the capital to be used to finance investment projects and other business undertakings, will be replaced by the feature of having those funds deposited in commercial banks, and the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities would be deprived of the right to make decisions on their use for purposes other than those set down in their budget.

The Capital Stock of Power

This also presupposes amendment of Article 262 of the SFRY Constitution, which was not initiated by the Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System. But this amendment is necessary because in practice those funds become a very substantial material base for strengthening the power of the executive agencies of the republics and provinces and a very substantial material base for those agencies to provide de facto coverage of various inefficiencies of organizations of associated labor, binding them to themselves in this fashion instead of encouraging their establishment of linkage throughout the entire space of Yugoslavia and encouraging the organizations to augment their income through that linkage and find solutions to their own problems in development and the conduct of business.

[Question] How substantial are those governmentalized funds, and how are they used? In the past and today?

[Answer] As of 31 December 1985 decisions of the executive bodies of the republics and provinces had used those deposits, with the help of bank officials, to commit 12,000 billion and 900 million [12,000,900,000,000 (?)] old dinars in the form of credit for purposes which could not be financed from those sources under the constitution. A portion was committed in the form of long-term credits, another portion in short-term credits. They were granted for "the sale of ships within the country," to prepare shipbuilding, to fatten livestock, to grow sugar beets and oilseed crops, to prepare exports, to manufacture fertilizer, for commodity reserves, to buy foreign currencies, for investment projects in the electric power industry, for "financial rescue of the electric power industry," for "overruns in a refinery," and so on. A portion of these funds are also being used to cover losses in organizations of associated labor.

The amount of credit from these funds that was outstanding in 1985 increased by 45.4 percent over 1984 and has shown a growth trend this year.

This is not the only form of governmentalization of the resources of society. But it is a very important one, and this is not the first time I have pointed it out. What is new is that now the bodies and agencies in the republics and autonomous provinces do not even grant consent for these credits to be extended within the limits of the established note issue policy, which is why the Federal Executive Council has still not issued the order to implement note issue policy, although the legal deadline for its enactment was 31 January 1986. The result was that the Federal Executive Council initiated adoption of a temporary measure.

Third, there has to be a change in the arrangements whereby intermediaries have been established between the National Bank of Yugoslavia and organizations of associated labor in using the resources of primary note issue. Otherwise, once again it will not be possible to guarantee further socialization of a large volume of financial resources.

Fourth, there is an urgent need to develop and elaborate a system of rights and duties with respect to socially owned resources in the municipal service sector as well.

Disunited Self-Management

[Question] What else in practice is frustrating or hindering the development of self-management and performance of its integrative role?

[Answer] There are a sizable number of present legislative features which--and I say this advisedly--have distorted self-management, which have defined its content in such a way that practice diverges from socialist self-management as it was originally defined as a conception and in the constitution. Here again changes are urgently needed.

These are all features whereby the right to independence in the original conception of self-management has in practice been progressively transformed into the right to be independent of the whole, the right to autarky, has given strength to autarky, has been transformed into the right to ignore the interests of the whole, just like all the arrangements which take away from self-management its integrative force, which is inherent in socialist self-management in its original constitutional definition.

If its original content is truly restored to self-management, the self-managers will establish mutual ties. Their field of activity will be broadened, their forces will become stronger. Bound together in that fashion, rather than parcelized, they will emerge on the political scene with the strength of their mutual allegiance and will fight for a redistribution of power to their advantage. Disunited self-management cannot lead in that direction, nor can it achieve it.

[Question] You have been speaking mainly about features of the economic system. But how should the purely political definition look in all of that?

[Answer] Decisionmaking on the key social affairs has to be transferred to delegate bodies and decisions on the key issues truly have to be made in them, which is not the case today.

So, there are four levers which should now be pulled at the same time so that the redistribution of power could take place. The first lever is the consistent, resolute, and uncompromising fight to implement the basic solutions in the economic system. This also presupposes a direct conflict, not only with a number of organizations of associated labor which are fighting the application of these new solutions, but also with the holders of political power who figure as protagonists of postponing the application of these new arrangements in the economic system.

The Crisis as a Cure

[Question] Which organizations does the new system especially "hurt"?

[Answer] Those which over a lengthy period, over the period of political voluntarism, have successfully covered their mistakes in development and business mistakes thanks to the generosity and magnanimity of republic authorities, republic executive councils in collusion with the banks. The position of those organizations has to be shaken. Their position should be brought to the point of crisis. Until they are brought to the point of crisis they will not be economically compelled to conduct business optimally, nor will society emerge from the crisis.

There are transitional arrangements in the legal system which make it possible for those organizations to adapt over a certain period of time to the new legislation and economic criteria for the conduct of business. Their destiny will depend on the speed of that adaptation. So will the fate of society.

[Question] What are the other levers to pull to arrive at the goal that is desired--economic laws, prospects based on work, and better relations through authentic self-management?

[Answer] The second is elaboration of the concept of social ownership, and the third is to change a certain number of features which in our practice have distorted socialist self-management. A unity of the two can create relations which by their force will make the individual solutions in the political system effective. Unless this is done, all entities will behave in keeping with those general conditions. And there will be no emergence from the crisis, since everyone will behave as he is guided by social conditions.

The fourth lever which should now be pulled lies in the area of distribution. Unless motivation, both individual and collective, to work more productively is strengthened, it is not possible to achieve conditions for the superiority of self-management. This presupposes a resolute abandonment of the concept of job security. Instead, a system has to be introduced which will make the job

and the official position insecure and will guarantee the security of work and knowledge. Unless that is done, forces will be created within self-management that will raise a hue and cry and thereby impede and frustrate authentic self-management and bring in government bodies and agencies to act as arbiters, will create the basis for them to constantly solve the problems. Self-management will then be blamed for many errors of omission and commission and many inefficiencies, and this cannot by any means lead toward redistribution of power to its advantage.

Contingent Forces

[Question] Does the present balance of power in society instill hope or not that all of this you have been talking about can be achieved in the foreseeable future?

[Answer] The balance of power in society is changeable. It is also created. If the producer portion of the working class is placed in a position where its destiny depends on the results of its work and if it can authentically improve its position through the results of its work, then the political part of society will find itself in a different position than at present. And it will act differently toward the organized working class of producers than is now the case. But so long as those producers depend on political decisions and on government capital, which is still held in the hands of political structures, it is certain that the balance of power will not be favorable for the superiority of self-management factors.

[Question] You constantly insist on the integrative component of all the laws. Is there a danger, if an unintentional one, that unitarianism and the centralistic concept might again be strengthened through these solutions?

[Answer] The real danger of a strengthening of centralism exists everywhere in society, including federal statist centralism of that unitaristic type or without the content of unitarianism. The source of that danger lies in both economic policy and also in cultural policy. And also in the ideological views of many figures in society. In a justifiable aspiration to overcome autarky and disunity and to achieve effectiveness of decisionmaking, many are inclined to accept or to advocate solutions which lead toward centralism.

However, I am certain that the danger of retaining autarky and disunity is very great. That is why the only correct thing is to wage a resolute fight both against centralism and also autarky. Solutions can be found which will unify Yugoslavia through self-management, and they will not contain elements of centralism.

The system of decisionmaking in a federal community or in any other complicated system demands that decisions be made jointly concerning certain vital issues which are crucial to development of the community. When those decisions are made democratically, in delegate fashion in delegate bodies, that is not centralism, but the natural way of carrying on life in a community.

So, I am against centralism, but I also favor a very high degree of the unity and community defined in the constitution, which will be the condition for joint survival. Unity based on the constitutional principles guarantees equality. In that kind of unity every entity is equal.

Causes Related to Personnel

[Question] To what extent have the specific solutions pertaining to personnel contributed to the past and present ineffectiveness of self-management, to the economic lull, or to regional and other divisions?

[Answer] If you are thinking of the specific selection of individuals to hold positions over the last decade, my answer is a great deal. A very great deal. Those who over the last decade have been entrusted with the holding of important positions in organizations of associated labor, in banks, in self-managing communities of interest, in government bodies and agencies, in the leadership of sociopolitical communities, included some who deserved a great deal of credit for their earlier performance, but did not have up-to-date professional and self-management knowledge and ability to successfully solve contemporary problems. Judging by their performance, some of them did not even confirm their willingness to show maximum vigor, resolution, and persistence in solving problems in keeping with the interests of the community as a whole.

I must say quite openly that autarkism in the economy and more broadly demonstrates that there were also those who were advocates of nationalism, economic and otherwise. Otherwise, there could not have been the occurrences which the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is now subjecting to harsh condemnation. After all, the people who hold positions in the system are the soul of the system.

There were a few who were willing to act boldly, to speak the truth, to dispel illusions and falsehoods and deceptions. We were too cautious of one another, even when there had been no personal lying. There was all of that and there still is. But I am convinced that a process of changing the situation in that area has begun in a strong way. It cannot be stopped. But it will take some time to bring about a situation in which it will be possible to say and to back it up that positions in society have truly been entrusted only to those who are really the most able, although their number is increasing all the time.

At present, elements are manifested which are not far from a lack of control in selection of personnel for positions both in associated labor and also in political agencies and bodies. This is a danger which has to be removed. The League of Communists, as the leading force, is responsible for the direction society takes and for the trends and achievements of the revolution. This also places upon it the obligation and gives it the right to ensure democratic selection of personnel for positions in society. What has to be changed is that the League of Communists must perform that task through involvement of the basic organizations of the League of Communists and through involvement of the membership of the elected bodies, and by no means through decisions made by those who hold professional positions in the leadership of the League of Communists.

Make the Delegates in Name Delegates in Fact

[Question] What in general terms do you think ought to be abandoned in the orientation of choosing officeholders in political bodies?

[Answer] It would be good not to continue the trend we have had up to now where people are mainly recruited for the most important positions from two groups--the group of politicians with a general background and the group of successful managers of the large organizations of associated labor and banks. The former have an amazing ability to arrive at a panoramic cross section of the situation in society and are amazingly good at criticizing what is not right in it, but they are not good at examining problems more deeply so as to eliminate the causes. They are accustomed to managing the economy in a manner which is more administrative than economic. The latter bring to political bodies and agencies an organizational and practical narrowness, which limits them and hampers them in examining comprehensively the broader causes of certain occurrences and social processes and from taking the systems approach to problem solving. It is indispensable to broaden the source from which officeholders are recruited to other groups as well--above all, politically astute specialists and scientists who in the system of higher education have acquired precisely that knowledge which is necessary now.

[Question] How is it possible in practice, provided the center of gravity of decisionmaking is actually shifted to delegate structures--for delegations, delegates, and delegate assemblies to make decisions according to the measure of society and the joint and common interest, rather than according to the measure of the interests of "their own" communities? Who is to verify which narrow interest is at the same time the broader and common interest, and how is this to be done?

[Answer] First, the delegates have to be given the opportunity to truly make the decisions. They do not have that opportunity now.

There are two ways of doing this. The first is to deprive those who hold political executive positions, including those who hold political executive positions in the leadership of the League of Communists, of the right they have seized to make decisions, in either a formal or informal way, about matters which under the constitution should be decided by delegations, workers' councils, or delegate assemblies. If they do not give that up on their own, there is an urgent need to compel them by political means. I emphasize participation in unlawful decisionmaking on affairs of society that lie in the jurisdiction of delegate bodies by those who hold political executive office in the leadership of the League of Communists because without them it would not have been possible to keep decisionmaking outside the delegate bodies concerning those matters which lie in their competence under the constitution.

The other way is to improve conditions in terms of personnel, organization, information, and wherewithal for the work of the delegations, the workers' councils, and the delegate assemblies.

If and when those two things are achieved, if and when a higher degree of self-management integration is gained, if and when the integrative force of self-management is strengthened, the delegate bodies and delegate agencies will appreciate the common interests more effectively and will more often make decisions according to the criterion of common interests.

[Box]

Futile Verbal Condemnations

Associated labor, especially its producer segment, is unfortunately still not able to prepare and propose federal laws and other pieces of legislation which are complicated in their subject matter. However much we might want it to be otherwise, that is now the case. It is a bitter truth. But it is not right to be silent about it because of that bitter taste. On the contrary, it is an obligation to state it so that action will be directed toward making associated labor capable. This will be more effective than a resounding verbal condemnation of associated labor having been displaced from the preparation and adoption of the content of federal laws and decisions.

In other words, these matters presuppose a knowledge of the facts from several different sources, from all sources, including a number of sources outside the country, and the ability to link them together and assess them from every angle. The disintegrated nature of associated labor in Yugoslavia incapacitates it for that purpose. Given that disintegrated condition, every part of it approaches the solving of a problem from its own angle, primarily from the positions of its particular interests--and not the interests of the whole--and that is not and cannot be the approach which facilitates and guarantees the drafting of laws and other decisions in keeping with the needs and interests of the whole.

The economic integration of Yugoslavia in the context of self-management is the way and the condition for equipping the producer segment of associated labor and associated labor as a whole to take over the role of an essential factor in the legislative process. Without that kind of integration it is an illusion to think and to expect that the present situation will undergo any essential change.

7045

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ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

ROZIC DISCUSSES SMALL ECONOMY, STRIKES, SOCIAL DIFFERENCES

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 11 Feb 86 pp 22-25

[Interview with Marjan Rozic, member of the Presidency of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, by Djuro Zagorac: "Dealing With Idleness"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] You are one of the people who have been pointing out for years that we are not making enough use of the possibilities of the small economy in resolving the economic crisis and development needs. Is anything significant happening here in general?

[Answer] The situation is changing, but too slowly, with a great deal of resistance. I think that the most important thing is that there has been an increase in the number of opstinas in the country where the small economy is growing more rapidly than the "big" economy. Progress can also be seen in the fact that during the 1981-1985 period, the growth rate for production and services by the small economy averaged 33 percent annually, while associated production grew at a rate of 2.5 percent, the total number of shops of independent businessmen increased by 22.1 percent in the last four years, and the number of employees, by 30 percent. A few days ago, we in SAWPY adopted courses of action to accelerate development. In every opatina, in large organizations of associated labor, and in the larger local communities, we should insist on new programs for services, production by small but profitable facilities, the development of service activities, various forms of handicrafts, assistance to employed families...

[Question] What is the relationship between the (regular) small economy and the (irregular) "gray economy"?

[Answer] We often become angry at the "gray economy," but it is maintained and expanded by the disparity between high demand and low supply. The "gray economy" is not imposing itself on the market all by itself; instead, it is stimulated and fed by the high demand. Why don't we legalize, encourage, and guide any socially necessary work, including the "gray economy"? One should not be afraid of work that is backed by results; what is dangerous is parasitic idleness.

[Question] What is hindering the development of the small economy: fear of enrichment, an inadequate position in the system (opstinas do not live on the small economy, and the big economy solves its problems by increasing prices), inefficient services, a lack of experts...?

[Answer] All of that. Monopolies arise from the undeveloped small economy of the socialized sector and personal labor, and unjustified enrichment can often spread from monopolies. This means that one should not be afraid of the development and rise of the small economy, but rather of its undevelopment. Increased supply and competition are important. Development should overcome ideological fluidity, dogmatism, and occurrences of shaky and speculative business. People are justified in reacting to occurrences of speculative enrichment. Such examples and occurrences should be brought within socially agreed limits, and not used to sow general doubts about the small economy, personal labor, contract organizations, cooperatives, etc. Socialism must be affirmed as a society of work, creativity, and innovation, and we are responsible for eliminating all restrictions on productive honest work.

[Question] For the most part, the critics agree that the development of our community is most hampered by etatism. The revolutionary Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo, however, claims that we are now also threatened by capitalism. (He explains this by the fact that more than 40 percent of the wealth is owned by the private sector.) Is this fear justified, and does it contribute to hindering and holding back the initiative of private citizens?

[Answer] I do not know which wealth is meant, and I am suspicious of those facts. Personally, I am not afraid that we are flirting with capitalism by developing the small economy. Under our conditions of socialization, even that kind of work is becoming more and more woven into associated labor as a whole. Ideological confusions perplex people, restrain their initiative, and sow doubts about the investment of personal funds in social production, and consequently we must fight these and other phenomena through development.

[Question] The balance of "harmonious" socialist distribution has already been disrupted; one layer is rich, while the majority is making amends and paying for the burden of the economic crisis. How do you assess the present situation?

[Answer] The dimensions of the economic crisis are serious. It is, however, a crisis in a country that is on the rise, a crisis in development; it is good that on the average the decline in real personal incomes has been halted, but under such conditions the motivational role of personal incomes fades and is increasingly reduced to pay, and self-management to participation. The social degradation of the valuation of labor must be overcome through income policy. Today those who earn money on the basis of property and its resale, who deal illegally in the resale of foreign exchange, etc., become rich, while it is quite natural for those who earn more because of their good work results to become richer. Many people have a hard time living because of low earnings, some of them a very hard time. It is understandable that they are the ones who insist with a critical note that the causes and consequences of the unfavorable economic and social situation be surmounted. They insist -- rightly-- that we stabilize prices, that we grab inflation by the horns, the

work be valued more objectively, and that conditions for earning more be created. Thus, we have to change the situation, but the real way out is through increased production, greater productivity, lower expenses, higher exports, and a social policy that is based on earned income and encourages its growth.

[Question] We have been "threatened" by taxes for years, but the experts claim that we have the most indirect and most inefficient tax system. Recently the help of the Federal Conference of SAWPY and its bodies was requested for establishing a more harmonious tax system that would be economically and socially more adequate. What has been done on this?

[Answer] There have been some innovations in the tax system, but the fundamental turnabout necessary has not taken place. SAWPY initiated and is insisting upon substantive and major steps. All of the fundamental solutions are under the jurisdiction of the republics and provinces, but it is necessary for the federal bodies, including the delegate SFRY Assembly, to be involved in the key issues as well. The tax system has to guide and stimulate; it has to operate according to economic logic, not restrictive-administrative. Its class essence is important, and through its operation it must contribute to a reduction in social differences. Taxes thus do not exist because of the budget, but because of development. It is particularly necessary for the tax solutions to encourage work results, the use of the means and object of labor, and the cultivation of the land. Taxpayer morality has slackened, and consequently it is necessary to ensure discipline and responsibility through sharper sanctions and supervision. This year we should consistently implement the Social Agreement on Income, and at the same time arrive at more comprehensive solutions.

[Question] There are more and more work stoppages (strikes). The circle is expanding (doctors, professors, and students are striking), but are the "programs" changing?

[Answer] The number of work stoppages really is increasing, and the circle is expanding. In fact, there are classic strikes, work stoppages, but there are also forced meetings slowing the pace of work, absences covered by various excuses, etc. As far as I know, so far there have not been any conflicts in which people sought the elimination of self-management or other legacies left the working class by the revolution. What does this mean? Above all, these are indications of the underdevelopment of self-management, deception of the workers, technocratic coercion, the extortion of greater earnings because of weaknesses in the valuation of labor, pressure against factors in society because of a restrictive attitude toward individual activities, etc. The basic message of many conflicts is precisely dissatisfaction with an impoverished socioeconomic position. There have also been instances in these conflicts of a clash between idleness and work, egotism and workers' interests, entrepreneurial interests and social interests, and of yielding to pressures that are harmful to the true interests of workers. All of this shows that most of the contradictions and conflict situations can be resolved with a progressive concept within self-management.

[Question] Can the social differences that have arisen in our society be "leveled off" with tax measures, or are more serious social interventions necessary, for example nationalization?

[Answer] The most serious social differences are the ones that result from unemployment and the unresolved housing question. Consequently, the SAWP urges that under the existing conditions housing construction be intensified, and that those who are employed create the conditions for new productive employment: at the existing installations, through the introduction of multiple shifts, in small business, tourism, and agriculture. Higher income is the real way to reduce social differences along the way, but to maintain and defend the differences that result from work results. We cannot reconcile ourselves to a balancing in the name of social justice. The changes in the economic system are aimed at objectivizing and sharpening the conditions for operation. This will also contribute to having one's personal income depend, not on the firm you work for, but on the results of your work. Social interventions are required when it is necessary to prevent enrichment regardless of work results, but also when it is necessary to ensure the minimum conditions for a normal life. Whether nationalization should occur and where must be established, according to the Constitution, in the area where there are instances on such a scale.

[Question] It is reliably known that little work is done here, only 144 hours, much less than the legal obligation for one month. Why is this the case?

[Answer] That is a very serious and relevant topic. There are initiatives for SAWPY's starting, organizing, and carrying out a broad movement for increasing the individual and social productivity of labor. Workers and experts at the collectives where productivity is high, at the European level, advocate such an orientation and insist on it. In fact, no one in the world has won the battle against inflation with a low productivity of labor. For many people, self-reliance still means only a pretty message, and not different behavior. Working time is really being poorly used. One must, however, start with the fact that there are great differences among work collectives. The public hears little about the good productive ones; we deal more with the losers, drawing out for many of them the agony that there can be no escape from without new production programs. What is the reason for the poor use of working time? Above all, poor organization of labor, insufficient material incentives for workers, low valuation of certain jobs, and an irresponsible attitude on the part of individuals, not just toward work, but also toward social resources. The thesis that idleness is part of the nature of employees -- essentially a technocratic one -- is thus untrue. There are those for whom idleness has become an occupation. But the vast majority is willing, armed with knowledge, to work productively, and so it is necessary to eliminate the objective and subjective barriers and obstacles.

[Question] An average of 64 percent of industrial production capacities is being used, and in some branches it is less (40 percent in oil refining, and 45 percent in the lumber industry). Why is this the case?

[Answer] With the suppression of self-management, a decline in the productivity of labor is also occurring in our economy. There has been a deterioration in the quality of products. If we designate our productivity of labor as 100, the productivity of labor in the industry of our neighbor Italy is 270, that of France is 290, and that of West Germany, with which we have a large part of our trade, is 310. The coefficient of the alternation of workplaces in our industry is 1.47, the coefficient of rotation is 1.34, and about 55 percent of the workers are involved in the work and the operational tasks handled in one shift. At the same time, poor use is made of expert knowledge. This is only part of the facts that show where the fundamental causes of our economic crisis are, but also where many reserves are concentrated, and what kind, the activation of which is the condition, or at least one of the fundamental conditions, for emerging from the crisis. The causes also lie in distribution, but one should also question unproductive development programs, emancipate associated labor from state and other forms of etatism, develop business relations in a unified Yugoslav market without "curator" from the sociopolitical communities, and rely on the economy and self-management. We need programs that are based on knowledge, expertise, and science, programs through which we will participate on an equal basis in world programs, including Eureka. Instead of the cult of machines, materials, and craft consciousness, we need to develop a cult of knowledge, innovations, and new technologies. But all of this introduces and implies new qualities in the social relationship and class orientation, and especially in socialist self-management. Even under the most modern technical and technological conditions, a person must be and remain an active agent.

[Question] How great is the role of an obsolete and comfortable organization of labor in this?

[Answer] The organization of labor is lagging behind; it is subordinated to and entrenched in entrepreneurial concepts and group ownership relations. But it is known that the management of labor processes is an independent, scientifically based function of the self-management production relationship, and not a form of inexpert command of the working process. Democracy and discipline are frequently confused. The comfortable organization of labor, as you called it, necessarily reproduces technological surpluses of employees, while business conditions are blamed for poor business results. Our attempts to conduct a movement for increasing the productivity of labor thus have a deeper meaning. A growth in productivity can create a healthy foundation for employment, technological progress, innovations, and increased efficiency, while socialist self-management must grow into a fundamental economic and social motivating factor.

[Question] During the 5 years of the crisis, the productivity of labor only increased in 1980. There is no secret that low productivity is accompanied by high inflation. How do we get out of this circle?

[Answer] The low productivity of labor is one of the significant generators of inflation. In fact, inflation is the "final product" of overall business relations, and thus of the low productivity of political work. It is not possible to get out of this circle through administrative solutions, or spontaneously. We basically have to change the attitude toward business

activity, work better and more productively, produce more, and reduce operating expenses in every cell of associated labor. When I say this, I can already hear the criticisms -- we all know this, we constantly say and emphasize this. True, but it is not enough to stress and emphasize; instead, it is necessary to implement such an orientation and to support it through economic policy.

[Question] Inflation affects most those who live (honestly) by their work. How can they be protected? Can the Socialist Alliance do anything specific to protect these people?

[Answer] Inflation has a manifold negative effect, although some people reconcile themselves to it and get through it well. It carries out a redistribution -- from those who manage well to those who do not; it destroys and devalues the incentive to work; it leads people to do business from day to day; it encourages conflicts within the working class among employees; it introduces insecurity and speculations in the market, and distorts the criteria and practice of social policy. Its effect on social relations does not need to be especially explained. Consequently, it is really necessary to use economic means and the force of labor to sever the roots from which it arises. In this sense, the financial consolidation of associated labor, understood as regular payment of its obligations to business partners, an increased share of OURs [organizations of associated labor] in the social product, etc., can contribute to expanding the maneuvering room for business and to having income not sought only by increasing prices. The situation at the beginning of the year warns that there has been no turning point toward a decrease in inflation. In any case, SAWP is responsible for activities aimed at adjusting the lower limit for those with low earnings, depending on the material possibilities, and at having consideration given by the local communities and opstinas to the social stability of each person. Experiences have been different, and there are many problems and difficulties, but the results are not sufficiently known by the public.

[Question] Administrative workers still live more comfortably and are better compensated than those in material production. The situation in this respect has changed for miners, for instance, but for many others the relationships have remained the same as before the crisis.

[Answer] There have been changes, and not just for the miners. It is well known that in some collectives employees have gone from management and administration into production -- where production work has been better valued. We have to continue this orientation. The trade union is most involved in this, but it has to have the broadest social support.

[Question] We are in a year of a major replacement of cadres; the elections have already begun. What sort of "outcome" do you expect -- a breakthrough by younger forces, or the survival of the experienced and tested?

[Answer] The preparations for the delegate elections are in full swing. But for the public, they have been pushed into the background, in the shadow of other problems, which is not good. It is necessary to understand that millions of people are participating in these elections, and that the work of

the delegations, assemblies, and executive bodies is being evaluated in public. The entire course of the preparations has to be involved and democratic; the basic quality of our system must be expressed. The preparations are in fact dealing with etatism, arbitrariness, irresponsibility, manipulations, and various blunders. The SAWP is making efforts to ensure that those mainly responsible for the preparations are the voters themselves, working people and citizens, and not someone on their behalf. The preelection activities are an opportunity for us to solve many problems, to establish more precisely the obligations facing the new delegates, delegations, and delegate assemblies. The outcome of the elections depends upon the quality and extent of the preparations. This justifies people's concern with cadre solutions, and the demand that our cadre base be broad and that it include all self-managers. I particularly expect a breakthrough by capable young people from production and science, from among creative people, willing to take responsibility and obligations for the great work that is before us. As you know, the SAWP has agreed that it is important to have a combination of all three generations, and to have broad democratic candidacy.

[Question] Should the Socialist Alliance and its activists be more active in the election proceedings, or should they be silent, and be "neutral." Candidacy and the elections are fairly impoverished in form and content; how can the system and the practice be improved?

[Answer] The SAWP activists are and must be active. People expect it of them. There is no place for silence, for bowing one's head before facts accomplished and false promises, neutral behavior, or wailing about problems. The work of activists is very difficult; it requires self-denial, ability, and willingness to engage in dialogue and explanations. SAWP activists are at the center of many criticisms that they hear, but which are directed at others. Work among people, however, is the basis for the activity and existence of the front. Candidacy is impoverished only where it is applied as a technique, a procedure, where it is formalized; but where it is a political act, the full complexity and content of the social situation are expressed, and so candidacy is an agreement to act. Elections should not be impoverished either, since voting is not reduced to just a formal decision in favor of one or more candidates, but rather in favor of the policy and course to which we have already committed ourselves. Otherwise, I agree that it is necessary to improve and to give political consideration to every step in the electoral proceedings, not in order to be more attractive, but rather so that we can link all the preparations for the elections and carry them out on the basis of delegate relationships and the democratic nature of our system.

[Question] Experience with terms: will the Socialist Alliance present a concrete position, since diversity has already been established?

[Answer] It is important to achieve a fundamental improvement in collective work, decision-making, and responsibility, but the basis has to be personal qualities. Diversity, as you put it, is not essential, although there is no real justification for so many differences. It is important for us to ensure the quality of the people and to overcome gradually the practice of formal insistence upon one-year terms. Critical examinations indicate many

weaknesses in the one-year term, and these have an effect on the quality and effectiveness of decision-making, and increased the room for isolated action by the apparatus and bureaucratization. Efforts are being made now to bring about solutions coordinated with the initiatives, to have a term last 1+1, 2+2, or 4 years. All of this has to be settled in connection with other changes in the political and economic system, and not as something for its own sake. But it is essential that we do not permit terms to be extended all the way up to three 4-year terms. Two terms are quite enough for successful work.

[Question] What is our electoral "base"? Is it changing? And what is the relationship between the "top" and the "base"?

[Answer] There are many appeals and entreaties to the "base." There is also courting of the base. Most of all, however, the base is bypassed. In fact, we must always proceed from the fact that political life takes place among people. That is the right place for verification, inspiration, corrections, confrontations, and dialogues, for every social worker and delegate. The main thing for SAWP is to bring people together, and to have them accept the front as something of their own. When I speak about people, I have in mind everyone who has a socialist orientation. And these are workers, scientists, businessmen, creative people in the area of culture and art, craftsmen, housewives, really everyone. Any selection on any basis whatsoever -- national, religious, social, etc., would narrow the front of those guided by socialism. We should not be confused by the fact that many are critical and dissatisfied with the situation, but have not given up on the self-management course and want to strengthen it through their conduct and actions. And if we want new qualities in political activity, a more mature and involved social climate and creative action, then activity among people is the right creative area. Under such conditions, any existence or widening of the distance between the "base and the top" creates a partnership relationship, and two hills, while the base is understood as a transmission, and not as a broad organized force, capable of changing and enhancing social relations along a socialist self-management course. People in responsible positions have few and insufficient contacts with working people in the social base. We must change this situation.

[Question] There are those who claim that in this year's elections as well, nothing will essentially change, and the cards "marked" in advance will only be "mixed" more...

[Answer] Everyone who thinks so is mistaken. Qualitative changes are inevitable. I know that nonexistent dilemmas are being mentioned. People who by law have to retire cannot be elected to executive-political posts. There is only an agreement that those previously elected can remain in those posts until the end of their terms. And on this basis alone, the cadre changes will be very significant.

9909

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DRAFT OF NEW PARTY STATUTES SUMMARIZED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Jan 86 p 2

[Interview with Frantisek Kaderabek, chairman of the Chair for Party Development at the Higher Political School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, by Kamila Jaskova]

[Text] On Monday we published the statutes of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia with the proposed modifications prepared for the 17th CPCZ Congress. The proposed changes in the introductory program part of the statutes characterize the role of the party at the present stage. We have discussed the reasons for leading to these modifications with the chairman of the Chair for Party Development at the Higher Political School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Frantisek Kaderabek. He was interviewed by Kamila Jaskova.

[Question] Since when is the present version of the statutes valid?

[Answer] The present version of the statutes was adopted at the 12th CPCZ Congress. In the course of socialist development, the party made certain modifications, enabling it to intensify more effectively its leading role. Some modifications were made at the 13th congress, and changes relevant to correcting the subversive activity of rightist opportunists and revisionists were adopted at the 14th congress. Even the present text of the statutes confirms that the instruction from the crisis development in the party and the whole society after the 13th congress is a permanently valid document for the activity of the entire party.

[Question] What new ideas are expressed in the introductory part of the statutes?

[Answer] First, it is stated that the communist party is a tested and militant vanguard of the working class, of the cooperative peasantry, of intelligentsia and of other social groups of our society. Particularly emphasized is the fact that the party is a proven sector of the working class and all other workers. The entire history of the CPCZ, and particularly its activity following the 14th congress, bears witness to the attention paid by our party to securing a peaceful life for the workers and the entire community.

The statutes emphasize that the party, by its class substance and ideology, is a party of the working class. It is exactly on the basis that it unites the efforts of all workers and forms morally the political unity of the entire society. The

class character of party policy is determined, above all, by the fact that this policy is consistently governed by scientific teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which it integrates creatively into our specific conditions; it also uses advantageously all experiences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries; it further lays out a program corresponding to the fundamental interests and needs of the working class and the overwhelming majority of the people identifies with it.

The proposal corroborates that the power base and action ability of the party and all of its components is the solid Marxist-Leninist unity of all its ranks, such as ideological, political, organizational, action and international unity. The proposal of the new version of the statutes defines precisely what should unite us and what we should fight against.

[Question] As emphasized in the proposed modifications, the principal mission of the party and its components is the political leadership of the society. In what does this political leadership consist?

[Answer] It consists in the unified efforts of all the components and organizations of socialist society and of all workers to fulfil the goals emphasized in the resolutions of party and state authorities. Namely, that the more a society is developed, the more complicated and demanding goals it must set for itself in the interest of its own development. The realization of such goals calls for the participation of an ever growing number of people. Therefore, the preface of the statutes devotes great attention to the issues of development of socialist democracy, to the participation of the people in the control over and decisions on all the fundamental issues of the development of the entire political system. The proposed changes stress the fact that the party aspires to a continual consolidation of the association of our peoples and nationalities on the principles of socialist internationalism and federalism, to intensify the political and moral unity of the society and to an all-around harmonious development of personal, cultural and spiritual life of the society. The participation of all the people in the exercising of control their activity and initiative are often dependent on the degree of their information. Therefore, the party continues to emphasize the growing role of ideological work. It is also stressed that the party endeavours to improve socialism in a planned and general fashion and to fully and effectively exploit its possibilities and merits to accelerate social and economic development. The best way to achieve this is to comprehensively develop production forces and production relations, in all spheres of public life with the aim of satisfying the steadily increasing spiritual and material requirements of the people.

The conclusion of the program part of the statutes emphasizes the tasks of the party in connection with the consolidation of international unity of the working classes in the entire world, with the struggle for peace, with fulfilment of joint measures to fortify and consolidate the defense and security of the countries of the socialist community.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

12707

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POLITICS

HUNGARY

'UNDEMOCRATIC' BEHAVIOR OF PARTY LEADERS CRITICIZED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 3, 1986, pp 35-36

[Article by Laszlo Varadi, Tolna County Party Secretary: "Prominent Leaders and Party Democracy"]

[Text] The primary scenes of evidence of party democracy are the party forums. How effectively democracy prevails in a given local organization or party body is incontestably apparent at members' meetings and corporate sessions. I would not like to exaggerate, yet on the basis of my long years of experience I dare suggest that from the atmosphere and debating procedures of membership meetings and corporate sessions it is easy to infer what kind of person the leader or party secretary of a given area is, and to what extent he insists upon the required democracy. By this, perhaps somewhat simplified, statement I would like to make it graphical that at this stage of effectiveness of our democracy, unfortunately, existential dependence still plays a decisive role in many areas. Exaggerated respect for the chief's authority and prestige, particularly if he is jealous of it, plays a determinant role in the unfolding of the debate. We may even witness some rude evidence of this, when an uninvited office or farm director takes his place on the chair of a membership meeting of his local organization, or disturbs the proceedings of the meeting, and of course the other speakers, by his interruptions.

Aside from this extreme example, it is very frequent, in many local organizations unfortunately even a daily occurrence, that as soon as the chief makes his own comments, the debate cannot even begin, it is in fact settled from the very outset. Later on, everybody takes it for granted that he is the only and regular speaker.

The debate may suffer similarly from statements which are pooh-poohing, shouting down or lecturing other speakers, as well as from recapitulations of the discussion, which include conclusions or comments which cannot be questioned.

In addition to these crude phenomena, we may witness less spectacular manifestations of existential dependence. It is not unusual that the calling of managers to account for their activities is made only for window-dressing, since members of the leadership of a local organization, including

the party secretary, do not want to endanger their prestige at the enterprise. However we may notice the symptoms of this kind of dependence not only in case of those who do their job on a social basis. It often occurs that even party committee secretaries made independent not through the party behave very cautiously in the shadow of authoritative--in some cases nationally recognized--economic leaders. Unfortunately they are vindicated by a host of examples, since often even the leading party committees are unable to protect them.

Similarly, as a result of the weakness of the leading party organizations, it may happen that individual economic leaders or medium-level managerial agencies appoint managers in their sphere of authority without the consent or even against the will of the local organization's leadership. The aforementioned, so-called unappealable pronouncements, also point to the fact that the concept or rather the practice of self-criticism are missing from the vocabulary of certain leaders. I expect that the introduction of new forms of enterprise management and in this context the strengthening of socialist democracy, as a result of the election of the managers, will leave a beneficial influence on the behavior of these leaders and thereby on party democracy as a whole.

However the aforementioned mistakes and omissions are not only the peculiarity of certain office and economic managers. Also party secretaries are indulging in un-democratic behavior. Such attitudes are giving birth to one-man leaderships, to "secretary-centrism." I should add at once that the leading party agencies often come close to support or encourage such developments. Recently even the following deplorable incident occurred: at an accounting members' meeting the secretary of the local party organization got enraged and rebuked in an unspeakable way the party member who criticized his report. Later on he instituted disciplinary action against the party member in question and his wife, on the basis of a variety of different, to a great extent fabricated, counts and eventually both have been expelled from the party. Unfortunately he found the proper partners for his action, in the first place in the person of the chairman of the agricultural producing cooperative, who directed the disciplinary proceedings, and further in the agent of the supervisory party organization. And the party members, accepting the motion of the prestigious reporters, nodded their approval. The disciplinary committee of the pertinent county party committee will deliberate on this case in the near future.

Before anyone draws the conclusion from the negative phenomena listed above that there are fundamental problems in our county in connection with the effectiveness of party democracy, I would like to point out that it is not so. Some of the extreme examples, cited above, were occurrences in other areas. We have recently assessed the status of party democracy in 30 of our party agencies and local organizations at various levels and of various functions. Our investigations have thus far convinced us that the situation in Tolna county, with all its successes and problems, fits into the national picture, as it was described by the report which initiated the debate and by its collateral remarks. The reason for which I nevertheless emphasized in my present contribution--maybe somewhat unilaterally--the

problems related to the existential dependence alone, which are primarily noticeable in connection with the leadership, is that, with the exception of some extreme cases, this is the most difficult problem that we have to face. Yet in my opinion without its solution we cannot strengthen democracy.

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POLITICS

POLAND

PROVINCIAL PZPR COMMITTEE PLENUMS

Krakow Plenum Focus on Cadre Policy

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by Andrzej Gesing: "Krakow: Cadre Policy is Shaped by Responsibility for the State"; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /On 30 January the plenum of the Krakow Province PZPR Committee deliberated in Krakow./

"The hugeness of the socioeconomic tasks and the manifold complications of social conditions pose to the party's cadre policy tasks commensurate to those faced in the initial years of socialism-building." Thus began the speech to the plenum by Docent Julian Wielgosz of the Academy of Social Sciences. On following this reasoning, which was referred to more or less approvingly but also sometimes in a controversial manner by a majority of the discussants, it is difficult to resist the impression of the conceptual depth and substantiveness of the arguments employed.

J. Wielgosz further stated that /all issues will be resolved in the plane of the quality of the future new cadres, their professional and ideological training and their sense of responsibility./ Are we prepared for these tasks? "Having engaged in party teaching for 20 years, I know that we know what we want to do, how to act and what to accomplish. We have training concepts. The interprovince party schools are proving their worth, but although cadre policy is a fundamental concept, we often do not follow these principles."

/Our actions unfortunately often reveal a certain dichotomy, because on one hand we have principles and on the other we follow personal policies. The general trend is that of restricting cadre policy to the staffing of posts." J. Wielgosz continued: "No distinction is being made between persons who deserve an office and persons who who already proved their worth, and yet this is not the same thing."/

In further discussion among plenum members emphasis was placed on the great political and ideological work accomplished in the last 2 years by the

16 May 1986

Krakow party echelon, as a result of which 621 persons have been replaced in leading posts.

The deliberations in Krakow, which were chaired by First Secretary of the Krakow Province PZPR Committee Jozef Gajewicz, were attended by Member of the Central Committee Politburo Prof Hieronim Kubiak, CKR [Central Party Audit Commission] Chairman Kazimierz Morawski and Brigade General Wladyslaw Honkisz, director of the Cadre Policy Department under the Central Committee.

Nowy Sacz Against Wastefulness

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by Jolanta Zajac: "Nowy Sacz: Against Wastefulness and Mismanagement"; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /Tasks of the province party organization in implementing the 1986-1990 Socioeconomic Plan were discussed on 30 January during a plenary session of the Nowy Sacz Province PZPR Committee./

Province Committee Secretary Ludwik Kaminski declared: /"Basic party organizations and party echelons should lead in identifying instances of waste and mismanagement./ Let us make of this issue a point of honor, and let us utilize the pre-Congress campaign as an occasion for offering and applying the largest possible number of constructive solutions. The society does not expect words from us; what is prized nowadays is deeds. Economic initiative is the best initiative for raising our authority."

/This will be promoted above all by developing the inspirational and control functions of party organizations and echelons./ This should be reflected in, among other things, increased activism of worker self-governments, trade unions, youth organizations, science and engineering organizations, economic societies, and the managerial personnel at workplaces.

Jerzy Madejski, secretary of the Gorlice city party committee, declared: "Above all, we should bear in mind our own technological thought. How could it happen that, although the workforce at Gorlice enterprises totals 20,000 persons, with every fourth employee being either an engineer or a technician, last year only 5 inventions and 470 laborsaving proposals were offered, and of these only 170 were utilized?"

These problems were referred to by Marek Holdakowski, director of the Economic Department under the PZPR Central Committee, and Prof Julian Rejduch, director of the Economic Planning Team for the Southern Macroregion, both of whom took part in the meeting.

Legnica Looks at Agricultural Policy

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by Andrzej Pawelczyk (PAP): "Legnica: Development of Rural Productivity"; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /The evaluation of effectiveness of management and of the living conditions of the personnel of the socialized sector of agriculture was the subject of the plenary session of the Legnica Province PZPR Committee held on 30 January./

The issues considered at that session were linked closely to the implementation of the resolution of the ninth party congress that refines more precisely the principles of the state's agricultural policy.

During the 5 years of operation of state farms under the economic reform their financial situation has markedly improved, and they all already operate in the black.

In the course of the discussion attention was also drawn to the problems agitating the state farm personnel. The negative effect of the copper industry on soil conditions was mentioned. The principal social problem continues to be the shortage of housing.

/PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek, who was present at this session, declared that the party will consistently strive to improve the living conditions of the rural population in measure with the development of agricultural productivity./

Plock Plenum on Party Effectiveness

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by Ewa Jasinska: "Plock: How To Revive the Work of Party Groups"; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /The evaluation of the status of the province party organization was the subject of the deliberations of the Plock Province PZPR Committee held in Plock on 30 January./

They were attended by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Jan Glowczyk.

/In evaluating the status of the province party organization on the eve of the [Tenth PZPR] Congress, the causes of the often uneven performance of particular PZPR echelons and organizations were considered./ Attention was also drawn to many favorable trends occurring in party work within the province.

But, as stated by Province PZPR Committee Secretary Wieslaw Paszkiewicz, complacency should be avoided, chiefly because all these positive instances

occur at random. Greater emphasis should be placed on the assignment of individual party tasks, because, as experience demonstrates, this is an effective way of reviving the work of party groups.

/Taking the floor, Comrade Jan Glowczyk stressed that, on entering upon the period of preparations for the 10th PZPR congress, all comrades should bear in mind that this congress is to be a great and frank conversation with the society on all topics./ Difficult questions and answers should not be evaded. In this campaign the party must distinguish itself by the audacity of its longrange thought as linked to the realities of life.

1386

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POLITICS

POLAND

POLLING CENTER LOOKS AT SUPPORT FOR OPPOSITION

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 1 Feb 86 p 3

[Article by Stanislaw Kwiatkowski: "From Critics to Rebels: On the Political Opposition"; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /Anyone who engages in politics has surely learned first-hand that trust, credibility and approving support have to be earned. Concerning anything that to some extent concerns politics and the exercise of power, people become hypersensitive, cautious in their judgments, or suspicious, or they even distance themselves, saying that this does not interest them and has never interested them much. This also is the kind of touchy response I encounter whenever I mention the accomplishments and findings of the Public Opinion Research Center (CBOS)./

Reports on CBOS studies are accepted -- even by the political underground -- as accurate and credible on all matters except one: that pertaining to political divisions within the Polish society. I sense this particularly at various meetings, conferences and discussions, when the subjects I discuss collide with the political mindset and orientation of their participants. As a rule, on such occasions I am usually questioned about matters that seemingly are remote from the implications of the poll findings, that is, about purely technical, professional aspects. This clearly concerns technical safeguards for the accuracy and credibility of opinion surveys and polls.

I have ceased to be astonished by this, and perhaps now I understand such questions better and answer them patiently. But do professional competence and adherence to scientific standards in themselves assure reaching the truth, ascertaining the actual state of the mind and mood of the Polish society? Distortions are possible at every one of the 15 or so stages of polltaking, in which quite a few persons participate: both the several dozen employed in our offices in Warsaw on Zurawia Street and the several hundred polltakers throughout Poland who cooperate with us. Much also depends on the respondents themselves -- whether they answer the questions truthfully and honestly.

But let us assume that the final product is processed faultlessly. That all the figures have been calculated and collated. We have figures and percentages: so many and such a percentage pro, and so many and such a percentage contra, and so many and such a percentage having no opinion. Some are in favor, others are against, and others still do not care! We want to publish the findings, and journalists willingly mediate this for us. But every individual author interprets figures and facts differently, depending on what he himself thinks and feels. Every author represents a different truth. This is good so long as the truth is not stretched. But the borderline is not so explicit. Some feel dutybound to flatter the authorities, to sweeten and embellish and distort. Sometimes they even alter a "trifle": e.g., they replace the word "most often" with "most rarely," as if by happenstance. Others, on the contrary, make the figures speak for themselves more sharply, manipulating them from the oppositionist standpoint. Most often both extremes are represented by the very individuals who are so "concerned" about the accuracy and credibility of opinion surveys.

Statistics are treated with reserve or even with mistrust if they diverge from one's own expectations. From the standpoint of one's own activism it is difficult to accept the indication that a majority of Poles shy away from political activity and unambiguous political declarations. The escapism of that majority or even its unwillingness to declare its political views is equally readily interpreted to mean that they are in favor of the authorities and of the opposition, depending on who is the interpreter. /What is of interest in this connection is the question of how many are for the authorities and how many against, without considering the sense and significance of such a division./

In general, certainly we should begin by identifying the people and issues considered. /But is that division so simple as to justify classifying within the group of supporters of socialism anyone who applauds the authorities and within the group of the opposition anyone who criticizes them? And above all, what does it mean to be in the opposition?/

/The very term 'the opposition' is somehow inadequate./ The phrase, 'antisocialist forces (elements)' used to be current, but now it sounds somehow shopworn. Our laws and our system of society do not provide for a legal opposition in the sense of a political party; there can be only illegal opposition. Those who do not approve of the government's policies are free to disapprove, but this must not mean that they can boycott our system of society. Publicistics has suggested for such individuals the term 'intrasystemic opposition,' opposition within the Constitutional framework. By contrast, the political underground is too narrow. It comprises only those who desire actively to change the system of society, to reject socialism. Recently I read someplace about "rebels" in quotation marks, with the quotation marks supposed to imply that they are potential rather than actual rebels.

/In CBOS questionnaires we employ the term "the political opposition" and we mean by this the political opponents, i.e., the opposition to the system of society and system of exercise of power that exist in Poland./ We base ourselves on the assessments, opinions, judgments and views on the political opposition expressed by the respondents, or we perform estimates based on answers to questions on crucial issues decisive to the attitude toward the premises of our system of society. /But this criterion too does not explain everything./ For we are dealing exclusively with declarations rather than with behavioral descriptions. Everyone is free to think and feel differently and to declare an oppositionist attitude out pure emotional intransigency, but that is not tantamount to underground activity and breaches of law. For this reason, we are extremely careful in our percentile estimates.

How Many Opponents Do We Have?

/How many people in Poland are determined to declare themselves on the side of the political opponents?/ Judging from pre-election polls, representative of the entire electorate, this means barely 3.5-5.0 percent of the total adult population. For this was the percentage of the respondents who stated that they will of a certainty abstain from voting for political reasons. Surely this is not a fortuitous percentage, since the same couple of percent [as published] consistently surfaces in our other polls. A roughly similar proportion chooses "rebel" oppositionist answers of the change-the-government or change-the-system-of-society kind out of the set of answers.

In December 1985 out of a sample of 1,479 adult respondents, 6 percent named the political opposition as the only group deserving support, when asked to evaluate political organizations and institutions. But when I cite this figure, the reaction is that of mistrust. To some it seems too high and to others too low. The proponents of "moral and political unity" would prefer to gloss over any mention of enemies so as not to awaken "sleeping dogs." Oriented persons believe, on the contrary, only in big figures in the range of 10 million. They besides base themselves on the reports of their scientists who estimate the oppositionist-minded segment to account for one-fourth of the entire society. There also exist intermediate calculations, but they generally conflict with the data which I have published on this subject.

It is not my intention to make propaganda; all I propose to do is to perform calculations. Where do these oppositionists come from considering that altogether 15-17 percent of the adult citizens, that is, some 4.5-5.0 million, are interested in politics? After all, that 15 or so percent includes more than 2 million PZPR members and millions of members of other legal political and social organizations who, by virtue of their membership, are politically active and committed to the side of socialism and the existing political order.

Those desirous of multiplying the number of opponents sometimes use membership in the former Solidarity NSZZ as a yardstick for belonging to the

opposition. Respondents to anonymous questionnaires who state that they belonged to Solidarity number at present about 6 million (their number is steadily declining, and moreover every fourth such respondent has at the same time stated that he is a member of the PZPR). /Thus, whatever the calculational approach, the result is always the same: only several percent of the adult society./

How Many Critics?

Clearly, criticism, caution and skepticism are in order when it comes to assessing social, economic and political facts. I have repeatedly written about the scope of social criticism and the issues it is concerned with. /The oppositionists have no monopoly over criticism./ On many issues, such as the state of the economy and malaises of the society, disapproving comments are also made by persons who declare themselves politically as members of the PZPR and its allied parties.

Let us approach this from different directions: from that of toleration, approbation and indulgence, as well as from the opposite one of disapprobation, condemnation, resolute negation and hostility toward the political underground and opposition. In the aforementioned poll of December 1985, with regard to the same question of social [as published] organizations and institutions, 45.7 percent of the respondents rejected the political opposition, one-third had no definite opinion, and 20 percent were inclined to show some sympathy for it, with only 6 of that 20 percent definitely favoring it. For out of that 20 percent, 14 percent chose both the government, the Council of State and the opposition. Can these 14 percent be classified as oppositionists, "rebels," political opponents of our system of society?

In reply to subsequent questions asked in that questionnaire, a large part of the respondents in general do not admit the possibility of oppositionist action by the underground. They select answers of the condemnatory kind such as: "Their [the underground's] activity complicates the process of democratization (14 percent); "[Their activity complicates] rescuing the country from the crisis" (16.8 percent); "[Their activity] contributes to disturbing law and order" (30.7 percent); "[Their activity] serves the interests of the enemies of Poland" (24.3 percent); "The slogans they proclaim are merely a screen for antisocialist activity" (15.3 percent). Judging from other responses, people are mindful of the past and would like to be certain that the mistakes would not recur. Someone should attend to this, even if that someone be the opposition. The respondents proceed from the assumption that the future would be best assured through polemical collisions and counterproposals (19 percent of responses) and that "The mistakes of the authorities should show the way" (more than 31 percent). Nearly 19 percent of the responses are of a denigrating nature: "Their [the underground's] activity is of no importance," or "Their ideas are not feasible." Thus, this is Polish folklore. (The percentages do not add up to 100 as the respondents ticked off all the answers with which they agreed).

Let us add -- and this is certainly of interest -- that only 37 percent of former members of Solidarity are in favor of the oppositionists, while some 15 percent bluntly condemn their activity.

Equally interesting are the answers of school youth on the threshold of adulthood to the question: "In your opinion, whose interests above all are represented by the political opposition?"

In principle, the table below needs no explanation: the figures speak for themselves. Still, attention should be drawn to the need for caution in interpreting the number of responses in the category "People who want to accomplish changes in Poland." This category should not be considered in isolation from the whole, and the question is formulated somewhat obscurely so that some respondents might interpret "changes" as either changes in the system of society or simply as changes to the better.

Table: Youth on the Opposition. Sample All-Polish Populations of Students in the Senior Classes of Academic and Vocational High Schools, Technikums and

Elementary Vocational Schools

[Question: In your opinion, whose interests above all are represented by the political opposition?]

	December 1983 N = 1,288	April 1985 N = 1,132
Youth leaders	15.1	22.2
The entire opposition	23.4	30.2
Workers	6.6	7.0
The intelligentsia	1.9	1.8
The entire society	16.2	12.2
Western countries	9.9	11.2
People who want to accomplish changes in Poland	23.5	29.0
Somebody else (Who?)	1.2	1.2

/Whenever I write or speak about the couple-of-percent political opposition I try to explain that this does not at all mean that the remainder -- that is, more than 90 percent of adult Polish females and males -- are politically "Reds." I always point to the entire diversity and complexity of the mosaic of political views and convictions of that remainder./ Unfortunately, this is deliberately disbelieved by both the champions of wishful thinking and those who are convinced that once something is not publicized it will cease to exist, and also by intransigents such as Kisiel, the columnist for TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, who recently expressed his explicit distrust of the figure I reported on the number of supporters of a change in the system of society in Poland.

Kisiel has probably always, or at any rate for a long time, been championing such a change. I respect differences in opinion and understand longing for more company. Though if that company were indeed to be numerous, it seems to me that Kisiel would then "convert to socialism." Such is his nature: he loves to be a naysayer.

For the time being, with his customary wit he points out: "An acquaintance of mine, once while in a taxi, railed against everything. At one moment the hackie turned his head toward him, stared at him critically, and said: 'Mister, in Poland 99 percent of the population are positive-minded, but why the hell does it happen that it is I who always drive that remaining one percent?'" (TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, No 3, 1986).

I beg pardon for using CBOS language and citing CBOS data on self-assessments of the material situation published in the press. It is possible that many people have ceased to use taxicabs following the latest increase in taxicab rates. But speaking more seriously, nowadays even naive people are aware that that 99 percent should be turned upside down to 66 and moreover that practically that entire 66 percent make critical remarks, that is, grumble, but generally not for reasons of hostility to the system of society.

Kisiel considers himself among the political opponents, and makes his living from that, but -- judging from his writings -- his oppositionist imprecations are within the [acceptable] norm, and, as he believes, "One must say as much as possible, and eventually write it down: just in case, it may be useful, and if it is not, at least this will be a testimony to our times." Rightly, this is hardly harmful.

I do not know if there exists any common ground between us and Kisiel, common in the sense of reaching a consensus (not necessarily national consensus). I believe that we would agree with the protagonist of a tale by Adolf Rudnicki, who wrote: "Complaining is a wonderful thing! There is no government more stupid than that which forbids antigovernment cursing."

But talk is one thing and deeds another. Critics are one thing and rebels another. Thus in these reflections on the political opposition I also have to take a position on those "rebels." Not so long ago I read (in POLITYKA No 1, 1986) that there are three million such "rebels" in Poland. The author, a well-known and valued publicist, referred to "accurate figures" of the CBOS -- which we appreciate -- and converted that 6 percent of respondents favoring the political opposition to a figure of 3 million. Kisiel would certainly feel good about it, but this figure is inaccurate. The publicist in question, who is a supporter of our system of society, calculated that 6 percent in terms of the total 37-million population of Poland, whereas our polls generally relate to only the adult part of that population, i.e., about 26 million! Babies-in-arms, tiny tots, preschool

toddlers and elementary school children can hardly be suspected of proneness toward rebellion, unless we assume that Poles are a genetically oppositionist nation, that they are born rebels and that a warlike disposition is in their blood or sucked in together with mother's milk.

Lastly, let me point out once more that we arrived at the 6-percent total of oppositionists on the basis of verbal responses or comments by respondents. But transient favorable comments, ornery opinions and verbal support of the political opposition are one thing, while firm leanings toward rebellious conduct and hostility to our system of society are another.

It is one thing for the respondent to malign the authorities or our system of society to the polltaker or by telephoning the CBOS (phone number 21-34-34, from 0900 until 1900 hours) and another to manifest one's hostility through underground actions. The actual number of rebels can be calculated, but that is not the business of the CBOS -- that is a matter for the special services. Those interested know from their own observations on the occasions of [political, religious] anniversaries and holidays that the number of rebels is steadily declining.

1386

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POLITICS

RULAND

MOSCOW PRESS CORPS EXAMINES USSR AFFAIRS COVERAGE

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 2, Feb 86 pp 25-27

[Article by Eugeniusz Jablonski, Moscow correspondent for DZIENNIK LUDOWY:
"How To Write About the Soviet Union?"]

[Text] In the second half of last November, at a meeting of the Polish press "corps" in Moscow -- and there are 19 of us here, including a television cameraman -- we considered once more how and what to write at present about the Soviet Union and what should be our material so as to make it interesting and pleasurable to readers, listeners, and viewers, and above all so as to reach the hearts and minds of readers, listeners, and viewers with our information and arguments, in order that our countrymen believe us and get an idea of the actual way of life and changes in the Land of the Soviets.

And there is plenty to consider. A mighty surge of reform is rolling across the Soviet Union, new and chiefly young and dynamic individuals are taking the helm of power, a major program for restructuring the economy and accelerating the pace of progress and development has been outlined, and changes are taking place in the style and methods of management. The plans and aims which have been, under the new leadership headed by Mikhail Gorbachev, outlined in the draft documents for the 27th CPSU Congress, represent the beginning of a lengthy and important process. To understand all this properly, to translate it calmly and competently into the language of journalism, not to "shoot one's bolt" all at once but distribute the main points over time, on expounding not only and not so much a stage of the program as months and years over which development visions are going to be translated into reality, and to link clearly what is happening in the USSR to what is taking place in Poland, in the other socialist countries and in the world -- this is our professional duty, our journalistic obligation.

In treating Soviet topics we have, unfortunately, in the past made many mistakes. But we have not been the only ones. Some exaggeration and onesidedness also have characterized schools, higher educational institutions, propaganda and training, and certain books and historical assessments [in Poland]. Fortunately, we have drawn the proper conclusions from these missteps. In journalism and propaganda much has changed to the better. But has this process been complete? Are we no longer in danger of

entrapment by ready-made schemas and oversimplifications? I would shy away from declaring that we have hit upon an ideal means, that we are operating with a convincing language and no superficialities will recur.

I attended a press conference for foreign correspondents accredited to Moscow which dealt with the demographic policy of the USSR. A representative of the Planning Commission described what is being done in the Land of the Soviets to improve the material situation of parents who bring up their children, of working mothers, how to assist newlyweds, how to improve the situation of pensioners, etc. Specific information was given, including figures in billions. That representative did not, however, attempt to demonstrate that what is being done about these matters in the Soviet Union is the maximum possible. On the contrary. At times I even had the impression that he was "apologizing" because only so much and not more has been done although the needs are greater. The phrase, "Actually we lacked the resources to do more," was repeated several times. And this was declared to representatives of major foreign press agencies, radio and television companies and representatives of newspapers from the West and the East --and quite consciously, I assume.

Why do I mention this? Because in an oversimplified and hence often false picture of the situation and life in the Soviet Union has become common currency in the Polish press. We still continue, in general, to depict that country as if it had unlimited resources, as if its development proceeded smoothly and without conflicts, as if people were living in it like in an oasis of happiness. In reality, there is no such ideal country. The Soviet Union still has to overcome a great deal of neglect and a considerable lag; it still suffers the consequences of the losses it incurred during World War II (yet another demographic nadir); it shoulders the burden of developing new northeastern regions; it bears the burden of defense outlays (and bear them it must, because for years its peace-promoting proposals have not met with the proper resonance); and it provides aid, often disinterested aid, to many nations, states and social movements. All this takes money and, in one way or another, affects the growth rate of the society's living standards. The failure to take promptly effective and consistent measures to accelerate the science and technology revolution and carry out indispensable economic reform has also had its negative consequences, as Mikhail Gorbachev has repeatedly stated. Thus, not everything comes easy in that country; not everything proceeds solely along a straight line, and people there do not live that well. Now if we point only to positive occurrences, only to accomplishments, and exaggerate them considerably and sometimes superfluously, depriving the end results of the entire drama of difficulties, efforts and toil, we lose credibility. And we achieve a result that is contrary to that intended.

The Sin of Onesidedness

As a whole we Polish press correspondents working in Moscow agree that many reportages from here sin by excessive onesidedness. Onesided press reports are not at all necessarily mendacious. They are truthful, except that they couched in roseate and upbeat language, focusing on what is good, what succeeds, and in what that country leads the world. There is no reason for abandoning now or

in the future this journalistic orientation. What matters is that reports of this kind should be written in greater depth so as to shed light on the vastness of the effort of people and the economy and the entire combination of circumstances and conditions leading to the ultimate successes. But in Poland, as I have often been able to ascertain, many people are not completely aware of the actual scale of the problems and projects tackled in the Soviet Union.

Consider for example the development of Siberia, the Far East and the Arctic zone. After all, this is a gigantic and unique task, in the technical, scientific and economic sense as well as in its purely human dimension. Is not it an inviting field of endeavor and an attractive idea for people in our journalistic profession to depict this and similar processes in an accurate and colorful manner, in their entire complexity but without adornment and without unnecessary pathos? The Soviet Union is in general a treasure trove of interesting journalistic subjects, beautiful lives of individuals that at times sound like film scenarios and rapid advancements in life. The point is to locate places where interesting things are happening as well as persons who have something important to say -- and to cope with this subject! Here, as in Poland itself, much depends on a journalist's "nose for news" and a modicum of talent.

When discussion on how to write about the Soviet Union begins, the usual recommendations given are that it should be written about credibly, objectively, impartially, truthfully, etc. I personally lean toward the formula, to which I try to adhere in my journalistic activities, that reports about the Soviet Union should be like reports about any other country. I mean, any other country in which colossal changes have taken and continue to take place, in which much has been accomplished and even more is being planned, which has rich cultural traditions and an advanced science, and where understanding and cordial people are encountered at every step. But the reports should also mention that the country in question has been experiencing in the past as well as at present its own troubles and difficulties, that nothing comes easy of its own, that the resources of the economy and the minister of finances are not inexhaustible, that mistakes and costly errors have taken place, and lastly that the society does not consist of perfect individuals, that it also contains ordinary fools and crooks. I am deeply convinced that precisely such a complete picture containing all the shadows and hues of life, depicting both successes and failures, the entire often tortuous path of arriving at truth and optimal solutions, will make our reportages attractive, instructive and good. I think that precisely this manner of reporting is in the interest of both countries, both societies.

Especially now and henceforward our press reports from the USSR must be particularly penetrating, judicious and impartial. If one analyzes thoroughly the materials for the 27th CPSU Congress and the speeches of Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders, and also if one peruses several issues of some or other newspaper, one can readily perceive the great change that is occurring in tone, vision, arguments and approach to the country's principal problems. Accomplishments are mentioned only briefly. Attempts are not being made to attribute particular shortcomings to "objective" causes alone. Instead, attention is being focused on analysis of the existing

situation, formulation of accurate diagnoses and solutions and, above all, on a consistent implementation of the adopted tasks, on a discipline that is the same for the blue-collar worker and for the government minister.

We shall lose a great deal if we find no proper formula for depicting these rich and complex trends. At the meeting mentioned earlier in this article, it was repeatedly mentioned that what matters is not a greater number of press reports about the USSR but their quality, their content, their newsworthiness. In general this appears to be a just principle, although it would do no harm also to consider the proportions between reports on the West and on the East being published in certain newspapers and periodicals. After all, the reorientation must apply not only to the economy and trade but also to propaganda and journalism.

Pages Should Not Be Torn Out of History Textbooks

For more than 40 years we have been building relations with our eastern neighbor on new foundations, on the principles of friendship, alliances, cooperation, aid and trust -- as deepened by the convergence of the premises of our systems of society and the related solutions. In the distant and near past Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations have varied. Whenever we united and took the common path, both nations benefited from it. But whenever separate interests and divisions of various hue came to the top, sooner or later this turned against the welfare of both nations and states. As someone said once, no page, regardless of its nature, may be torn out of history textbooks. Hence, we must tell all and truthfully about the past, so as to draw conclusions from mistakes and perpetuate in social awareness the good side and benefits of mutual contacts. Nations have a good memory, and anything that is glossed over is exploited by outsiders with the object of instilling the poison of hatred, disuniting and slandering. The Polish nation has -- as a whole, in its mass -- responded with relief, faith and hope to the turnabout in Polish-Soviet relations initiated by communists and the Polish left. But probably we began to believe too readily and too rapidly that all are of one mind, that the legacy of the past has been overcome once and for all. By now, following the sorry experiences of the early 1980's, we think otherwise. I believe that this topic is not closed, that in publicistics, too, we should and must answer questions about the past from class and Marxist standpoints. Particularly considering that there is nothing to hide!

Nothing about the past should be glossed over, and this applies all the more to the present. For information and reportage about current Polish-Soviet relations, in every domain and in every plane, not just doors and windows but also gates should be opened wide. Our political, economic, scientific, military, cultural, trade and all other relations serve a good cause and are advantageous and indispensable to Poland, to our independence, to further development, progress and stabilization. They also are of huge qualitative importance to the Soviet Union. We should write about this as much as possible and shed light on these matters from various sides. After all, there cannot exist a situation in which the average Pole is sometimes more knowledgeable about Polish-French or Polish-American ties than about the ties with our greatest and nearest neighbor and partner.

Perhaps I am exaggerating somewhat, because much has changed to the better. But completely unjustified resistance and apprehensions still exist. For example, there is a trend toward omitting to itemize the goods being sold by Poland to the USSR, particularly as regards consumer goods and agricultural commodities. Supposedly, the reason is not to offend Poles, because of the scarcity of goods in our country. Let me ask: How will we pay the USSR for its crude petroleum, gas, ores, cotton, machinery, television sets, refrigerators, and dozens of other raw materials and finished products, if we do not sell to it our own goods and raw materials? How will we repay our indebtedness? How will we increase imports? Or another question: When, in accordance with the principles governing the settlement of accounts between CEMA member countries, we paid the Soviet Union cheaply for its crude petroleum, gas and other raw materials, it was thought commendable to highlight this in print, but when, in accordance with the same principles, the Soviet Union paid us for our goods prices below the contemporary world market prices, it was thought wise to gloss this over in order not to irritate Poles, because if this is not mentioned in print no one will be any wiser. But why should no one know about this? After all, this is based on the same honest principles for settlement of accounts. Who then needs such an information system, or rather such a disinformation system?

Our economic, trade, scientific and technological ties with the Soviet Union are broad and are of tremendous importance to our country owing to their stabilization, clarity of settlement of accounts and now also developmental dynamism. They should therefore be popularized and described in every way. Many Polish agencies in and outside Moscow have scored considerable accomplishments and are quite conversant with the needs and possibilities of our partner; they should be more open to the mass media and meet the social expectations. But this is not so.

Break the Circle of PAP Communiques

Even less information is provided about the CEMA. Most often one has to rely on press bulletins, official publications, communiques and similar material. It is thus hardly surprising that the press at times provides more information on discussions and activities relating to the EEC than on the workings of the CEMA. Yet the council is permanently in action; many interesting things are happening there, it takes important decisions affecting entire branches of economy, and it develops coproduction, scientific and technical cooperation, etc. It is high time to break the vicious circle of PAP communiques and periodic comments by our representatives in reporting about the CEMA's problems and activities. Greater use should be made of such forms of popularization and indication of the CEMA's role as reportages, conversations, interviews, etc., that is, kinds of journalism serving as a better mirror of ties between Poland and the CEMA. Permanent Polish representatives within that organization should assist the press correspondents in Moscow.

Lastly, one more issue: The general opinion is that one cannot earn a reputation for himself by dwelling on Soviet topics and, in general, on topics relating to the socialist countries. If we consider our experts on international affairs, this seems to be true indeed. Why is that so? After

all, whatever may be said of the deficiencies of press reports from the Land of the Soviets, they are thematically much more comprehensive than reports from the West. Without impugning our colleagues who specialize in Western affairs, it must be admitted that they focus their attention chiefly on political events. But by constantly writing about battles in the forum of the Bundestag, the House of Commons, the House of Representatives and the Senate, they unwittingly perpetuate in the mind of the Polish reader a picture of a supposedly dynamic and flourishing Western democracy and Western civil liberties and rights. This appraisal is not mine, although I agree with it: it comes from a correspondent in Moscow who had previously been posted to Western and developing countries.

Yet, press correspondents posted to the USSR and other socialist countries have at their disposal a much broader variety of subjects. They gain their knowledge of the country not chiefly from newspapers, television and books but often from long and arduous trips across the land as well as from dozens and hundreds of conversations, which are subsequently reflected in their press reports. Yet -- I must admit this with my hand on my heart -- all these subjects and all this expertise of my fellow journalists posted to the socialist countries is relegated to a secondary plane in the opinions and appraisals of the international publicists, on the ground that they are supposedly "easier" subjects, closer to our own domestic ones.

Truth must be faced from another viewpoint as well. Few journalists posted to Moscow, Prague or Budapest continue to specialize in their fields, retain ties with the country to which they had been posted, revisit it regularly and write about its problems, as contrasted with, e.g., Marian Podkowinski, an expert on German affairs. Consider what is now being done by our colleagues who had previously been posted to Moscow. Most often, with the exception of agency [PAP] journalists, they no longer write on Soviet subjects. The editorial boards are largely to blame for this situation. They are wasting the knowledge, experience and accomplishments of these people. The head of an information agency, to whom its Moscow branch should be the most important, if only in view of the number of correspondents posted to it, did not consider it expedient, necessary or suitable to meet with colleagues who returned to Warsaw after sojourning for the second time in the Soviet capital and who are outstanding experts on Soviet affairs! Given this attitude (quite aside from the last-named extreme case), there is nothing surprising in that most often those making short trips to the Soviet Union are people who either had never been there before or had not visited it for a long time before. Afterward, when one reads their press reports, the mistakes, misprints and plain ignorance they reveal are simply hair-raising.

I believe that the policy for selecting journalists to be posted abroad needs to be reconsidered. This also applies to the policy for "utilizing" our colleagues who return from postings in Moscow and socialist countries.

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POLITICS

POLAND

YOUTH FORUM DISCUSSES CATHOLICS IN SOCIALIST STATE

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 5, 1 Feb 86 p 3]

[Text] Can Catholics build socialism? There is no use hiding that in our country, in which the dispute is only over whether Catholics make up 60, 70, 80 or more percent, this has been a more than fundamental question for 40 years. It is no surprise, therefore, that the rather large hall serving the Young Generation Forum, held under the auspices of the PRON National Council, this time (20 January 1986) could not accomodate the group of participants who traditionally come from Czestochowa and Krakow, Kalisz and Radom and Warsaw's schools and universities.

Yet the meeting (perhaps because it was apparently the 13th of its kind) must be considered as not very successful and the state of the hall illustrates this very well. After an hour there was plenty of room; after two hours it was nearly empty. What is worse, a fair number of the speakers were long past age 50 ("I am here in my 81st year to discover what young people think") and in such a group, the deliberations too often turn toward the distant past, more rarely do they turn toward the future or stay in the present. Moreover, every gathering in which responsible people in the national hierarchy take part (this time there were an unusual number of them--the Sejm vice-marshal, the chairman of the PRON National Council and its secretary general, the minister for Religious Affairs and the vice-chairman of the State Council) is haunted by cranks offering world-altering inventions, delivering speeches on "my life" and delivering petitions with commentary, not to the point at that. Such are the costs of the only Polish Hyde Park and here too they had to be incurred, shortening the time for interesting appearances and apologizing to the audience, which no longer had the heart for public tedium.

What do Catholics who are currently 20 or 30 years old think about their place in Poland, in which the means of production are public and the worker party is in control? How do they see the history of this co-existence, which also outlines the platform for the future? What obligations does a Catholic have in relation to the state and the church? Talked down to by the elderly, they asked more questions than they formulated statements; they appealed more than they argued.

Thus appeals prevailed--that Poles, regardless of divisions, not be at each other's throats (i.e., over crucifixes in the schools), that they love their

country, maintain the high morale of the people, etc. There are no conflicts between us "because Christ was the first socialist" and the Christian community the first commune. But among these banal appeals and hackneyed opinion, there was occasionally an important question about the promotion and representation of Catholic circles. How can it be that a Catholic can be an advisor, Sejm delegate or a member of the State Council but one looks in vain for people with a clearly marked religious affiliation in the position of mine director or director of an industrial association? How is the relationship to be formed between the ethics and morals of the Catholic community and the substance of the legal system, saturated as it is with Marxist values? The field is open for a variety of conflicts and it is worth discussing them.

Also considered, although without much passion or vitality, was the advisability of establishing a Christian party or Catholic youth organization, as well as the right of the Catholic community to disseminate its opinions on the radio ("Let the professors of theology present their moral ideal" or "We must oppose naturists and pornography"). Would fulfilling all these wishes change anything? Let's not delude ourselves, someone said, that these are wonder drugs for our present situation. Why? Whatever one might say about the domination of the meeting by rather elderly people, the most interesting and dramatic statement, touching the heart of the matter, came from one of them. He said, with rare sincerity: Society is sinister and hateful. Love is absent in our midst and Polish Catholicism has not sunk deep roots in our soil and has an ostentatious nature. How do we work? We can see around us, for example, how Catholics are building housing for families that are also Catholics. The Polish people have not kept their vows of sobriety made at Jasna Gora and the martyr-like, masochistic tone prevailing in many circles has an epigonic nature. We cannot take this into the 21st Century.

Catholics are building socialism. That is the plain truth, but how many are doing it by choice and how many only as hired hands. Everyone must answer this question himself and by his own reckoning and here, in more than one instance, documents devoted to church social teachings, including work and participation in public life, could help. Were they discussed at the Young Generation Forum? They were not, and I expect that very few in that hall (besides the presidium) have instructive lessons behind them.

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16 May 1986

POLITICS

POLAND

DEPUTY SPEAKS OUT ON CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 9, 2 Mar 86 p 4

[Text] From a speech (text of a verbal statement based on shorthand notes) by deputy Aleksander Legatowicz at the Sejm session of 30 January 1986. ". . . Church-State Relations. As television showed my so-called profile during the election campaign, the editor asked me what I think about church-state relations. At the time I replied, 'This is first of all an issue for the joint committee of representatives of the episcopate and national authorities, not an issue for the television cameras. But as far as my opinion is concerned, I feel relations will be formed according to whether the structure of relations that is established will truly be established on Christian values. And depending on whether the church will have to choose between its own identity and credibility in society and fulfilling the demands of state authorities. That is why dialog, with respect for the partners' identity and primary rights, is necessary.'

"And what happened? The excerpt I quoted here could not be found on the air. To ease the tension, I will add that I also had a discussion with Professor Gulczynski on the subject of understanding on the radio. I will not go into details but it turned out that a candidate for the Sejm on the national roll cannot tell on the radio what he saw on Polish television. Why am I talking about this? Because, in my opinion, a very important condition for real understanding is the right to truth and identity in public life.

"We may differ, even differ greatly, but we must act and live in truth."

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POLITICS

POLAND

CHURCH CONSTRUCTION DEFENDED

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 2, 12 Jan 86 p 3

[Article by Slawomir Siwek: "Church Construction Continued"]

[Excerpts] It is not my purpose to engage in polemics with Jerzy Jarzeniec's article in No 47/85 of POLITYKA, "Religious Duties." It discredits its author (authors?) because it is untrue. The author manipulates numbers and statements and uses an absurd method of inference. But to continue the topic I began in No 19/85 of GOSC NIEDZIELNY, I will try to bring together here the charges and opinions on church construction being repeated in the non-Catholic media and give the true facts. I will therefore respond to one of the conclusions propounded in the cited article in POLITYKA. Allegedly the Catholic press has maintained a "real conspiracy of silence" as regards the matter of church construction, while "Catholic opinion, familiar with the real proportions of church construction, can stop giving it the support it has heretofore given in the interest of other more urgent matters."

Is it true that in an average Polish diocese Catholics have many more and much larger churches than their counterparts in the enormous centers and historical metropolises of the West? Why do I see this statement as absurd?

Churches are built in connection with genuine, not imaginary needs. In GOSC NIEDZIELNY I wrote, "... the requirements of parish communities, expressed by parish councils among others, when it comes to the construction of new church buildings, have been unequivocal: we want to be close to our house of prayer, we do not want to send our children to religious instructions in neighboring districts of large cities or distant villages."

For years the Catholic press has discussed the problem of the "crisis of faith" in the West. In many countries there is a wide divergence between the number of baptized Catholics and practicing Catholics. There is no problem with building new churches there; the problem is how to fill those that already exist. For the average Catholic from Western Europe or even from North America, the picture of overflowing churches during mass in Polish churches is shocking. Even if one accepts the sensational calculation of the number of faithful for each church (according to the outline discussed above), even then it would not be an argument for limiting the number of church buildings in Poland.

In this instance, even a moderately bright reader, even a non-believer, would ask what the problem of church construction in a country (i.e., Holland) where church sources talk about 4 percent practicing Catholics, have to do with Poland, where the faithful cannot fit into existing churches.

It seems even less likely that anyone would take seriously the charge that in Poland the state of church construction is artificially sustained by "superior church authority." The needs in this realm, as I wrote, do not and cannot turn on artificial statistical games. They turn on real needs. What are they?

This is the situation in large cities. One need not be familiar with the problem to notice that the number of church for the number of faithful in old districts is totally different from their number in new districts. Efforts to build even one church in Nowa Huta or in the Warsaw Ursynow district of 100,000 people took years. The purpose of church construction for several years has been to equalize the most glaring disproportions and therefore to better meet the needs of the faithful who travel many kilometers to church. In coming out against requirements submitted by the faithful, the diocesan curias worked out organizational criteria which must be followed in competing for permits. It was adopted as an approximate "minimum" criterion that one church should serve 10,000 to 15,000 residents. The recommendations of Vatican Council II say that an urban church should not have more than 10,000 faithful. Such proportions guarantee tolerable conditions for the faithful and full ministerial work. The needs of particular dioceses have been and still are submitted according to such criteria. In the practices of past years and in agreements at the highest levels of administrative and church authority, these criteria have been accepted.

Likewise in rural districts, only justifiable needs have been and still are being submitted--the distance of the village from the church, the technical condition of buildings used thus far and finally the residential areas newly emerging around new industrial developments.

Time for examples. In a letter from the Office for Religious Affairs of 27 December 1985 to the secretariat of the Polish Episcopate that included information on proposals for the plan of church construction for 1986-1990, there is a table showing the number of applications in particular dioceses. As calculated by the office, there were 627 such applications made in the entire country. These are applications for investments surpassing 600 square meters. In Lublin diocese 13 applications were made.

In a letter to the provincial office in Lublin, that curia made its applications in full detail, providing a set of justifications (letter of 19 January 1985). What do we learn? First of all, that in the last 35 years, not one new church has been built in Lublin despite the city's growth. Currently 11 churches are under construction. To satisfy requirements according to the above mentioned criteria (up to 15,000 residents to one church), it would be necessary to build nine churches in the city and four outside it (Pulawy, Swidnik, Krasnik). At the beginning of the previous 5-year plan, it was agreed with the government that the construction of 11 church would be moved to succeeding years. The government also refused to approve the construction of

three smaller churches. However, carrying out the currently proposed church investments would resolve the problem decisively.

"The basic, objective argument for the construction of new churches," says the Lublin bishop, "is the real need for them. The thousands of people eager to build, not begrudging their money or especially their selfless work, testify to this."

What, on the other hand, specifically has been offered? The construction of a church in Ponogroda for 12,000 people who today worship in the cemetery chapel; in Slawinek where new residential districts are being built and people today go to a chapel made from a garage; in Felina where a residential district for 40,000 people is being built, in Pulawy where 45,000 people live and there is one gigantic parish.

One could go on with similar enumerations. Then there emerges one more point that is scrupulously avoided in certain reports by the non-Catholic media on the "next wave of building large churches." The limit of 600 square meters of area refers not only to the church but to all church buildings as well--the church, rectory, classrooms for religious education, outbuildings and administrative buildings. Thus it comprises a complex ordinarily needed to carry on normal ministerial activity. One must recall here that from the time of the separation of religious education from state education, the state also took upon itself the responsibility for providing for the church the material conditions necessary to conduct religious education. The church is not a subsidized institution; it supports itself from the contributions of the faithful. Therefore, no one demands that the Ministry of Education pay for the construction and maintenance of religious education centers; the dioceses want only goodwill in dealing with requirements in this realm. So that, within the limits of constitutional principles, children would have the opportunity for proper preparation for Catholic life, consistent with contemporary conditions.

For example. The archbishop's curia in Bialystok, in a letter of 30 May 1985 to the provincial governor, specified four of nine building applications as the construction of rectories or religious education classrooms, while the remaining five instances were not solely for the construction of church, but for rectories and religious instruction centers as well, which together made that "large structure." As a curiosity I would add that attempts to build a church in the Tysiaciele district in Bialystok have been going on since 1977, while St. Wojciech parish, since its opening in 1979, has no parish building or classrooms and of the eight priests working there, only two are able to live on church grounds.

Jerzy Jarzeniec of POLITYKA simply departs from the truth when he writes, "Bishops from the entire country have already submitted a total 627 proposals for building only large and very large churches." What I wrote above illustrates the magnitude of the manipulation done here. The number comes from the table sent by the Office for Religious Affairs to the secretariat of the episcopate. Jerzy Jarzeniec should know that contained in it are applications like those described above and those from the Gniezno curia, submitted to the Budgoszcz provincial governor on 26 June 1985, where of 15 investment proposals five deal with possible chapel construction, one a residential-catechetical

building and among them there are also applications to which the curia has not provided any response since 1983 and has therefore resubmitted them for the next (current) 5-year plan.

The next argument is based on setting the development of church construction against residential construction. The question is asked, can the church build so much when there is no housing? It is further concluded that the growth of church construction limits residential construction (a problem of materials). Finally, the bishops are unconcerned about the situation of the people; they only want to take care of their own interests. Therefore, you faithful, see how the church's assurance that it understands society's problems really looks!

Now we are beginning to talk about economics and politics. Very well, let us get into that field.

Raising such an argument is contrary to decisions of the PRL's government. On 22 November 1981 the president of the Council of Ministers issued Order No 47 (No P 13W/76/81) on the planning and execution of church investments, in which the following paragraphs are interesting: Par 8: "a potential negative position (in relation to investment requirements submitted--writer's note) cannot be justified by a shortage of building materials, whose acquisition is the task of the investor, with the conditions resulting from par 2;" par 12: "entities distributing materials coming under central distribution in 1982 establish within three months the procedure for supplying those materials for church construction;" par 13: "for investments in structures associated with agriculture conducted by church or monastic institutions the rules on supplying building materials for investment by individual farmers apply;" par 14: "in areas not regulated in par 12 and 13, investors are supplied with building materials in a manner generally accessible." Vice Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski signed the order in the name of the president of the Council of Ministers. The order is valid to this day.

The paragraphs cited are so clear that comments can be limited to the following statement: the issuance of permits has nothing to do with the state of residential construction in Poland. Such construction depends--as everyone knows, especially those who have been on a waiting list for years--on the set of systemic causes in the Polish economy, not on the number of churches built. One could ask how it was with residential construction and waiting for housing in the years 1961-65, when only 63 churches were built, from 1966-70, when 37 were built and from 1970-75, when 118 new churches were built? The latter number substantiates the lack of a relationship between the state of residential and church construction and the number of permits issued. The decisions are exclusively political. The argumentation too. The years 1971-75 were relatively the best period in the history of Poland's postwar economy, but the waiting lists for housing were not eliminated (although the issuance of permits for new churches was limited), nor did the waiting lists, which were shorter than they are now, have any influence on the granting of building permits to the church.

On 30 December 1982 a Pro Memoria on building a housing project named for John Paul II for large families in Warsaw reached the secretariat of the Polish

Episcopate. This initiative originated among the clergy and laity. Its purpose, besides an obvious desire to contribute to resolving the tragic housing situation, was to commemorate the approaching second pilgrimage by the Holy Father to his homeland. The cooperative that was to be formed to carry out this investment was to be called "Votum."

The project was to come into being--today one can call it that--as a kind of foundation, from contributions by the Polish public and willing people from abroad. These latter possibilities had been discerned initially--they were genuine. The patron of the initiative's committee, composed of representatives of the clergy, the world of education and culture, workers, peasants, craftsmen, architects and lawyers, was the primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp. The secretary of the Polish Episcopate, Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, was an honorary member and spokesman.

Initially, considering first of all the amounts of funds possible to obtain in Poland and abroad, the construction of a project for 1000 families was planned. In the future, for 3000 families. Locating the project near Wilanowa was proposed for two reasons--the Holy Father's pilgrimage during the jubilee year of the liberation of Vienna and the existence of a site between Wilanowska and Przyczolowska streets already planned for construction.

The committee planned to invite the Holy Father to bless the site and cornerstone and to turn over the project to him during his pilgrimage as a special votive offering.

On 17 January 1983, Minister Lopatka received an outline of the conditions for creating the "Votum" Residential Construction Cooperative in Warsaw.

During the pilgrimage to his homeland, the Holy Father did not bless the cornerstone of the first project for large families, which came into being thanks to the collective decisions and work of people of good will. The administrative authorities responded negatively to the initiative presented by the church.

The opinion of a Very Important Person--"We do not need to multiply our property," spoken at that time on the occasion of another initiative proposed by the faithful and rejected by the administration, has gone into the classical works of our economy. This "property" was to be initiatives of the Association for Housing Reform type.

Let us go back to the economic aspects of church construction. As has been explained, the investor--the diocese, parish, religious orders--compete for building materials in a twofold manner--through central distribution, under ordinary conditions, and here the administrative organs distribute materials according to the possibilities, with no preference given to church construction.

The other methods of gathering materials, the basic portion of them, is buying them for cash where they are openly for sale, or through "PEWEX" thanks to the help of the faithful, especially Polonia, for the church in Poland. But here we must go back to Jarzeniec's article in POLITYKA. He says that church

construction in Poland occurs by way of "convertible currency contributions" of West Germany's Caritas and the "extremely politicized (through its connection with militant anti-Communism)" organization "Kirche in Not" (the Church in Need). He even cites the millions of dollars that go for this. Jarzaniec is not writing the truth. Neither Caritas, nor "Kirche in Not" finance church construction in Poland.

In matters like freedom of religion, the church must reject arguments on "construction tactics" for basic reasons. These matters must be considered in an atmosphere of dialog and a climate of respect for the basic rights of believers. This is the church's constant "line." Nothing more is involved. Public statements cropping up that the growth of the infrastructure, of church construction, could open up prospects for new tensions, should be taken as a willingness, not by the church, to open new fields for these tensions. Raising the issue in this way itself causes social tensions, for whose levelling-off the church has done and will do much. Regardless of who has what kind of intentions in this regard. And how long they will last.

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POLAND

POLITICS

FINANCIAL SITUATION OF AGRICULTURAL FOUNDATION

Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish No 10, 9 Mar 86 p 6

[Text] In connection with the great interest in the Agricultural Foundation's financial affairs and with various statements on the subject in the national media, Slawomir Siwek, spokesman for the foundation's Organizational Committee, told journalists:

[. . . .] [Art 2, item 6 of the law on the control of publications and exhibitions of 31 July 198 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99), amended in 1983 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204).]

"In 1982 Western and Polish experts initially calculated \$2 billion as a start-up figure that could ensure the best economic results. This amount was to be made up of two parts--revolving credits granted to the foundation and donations. As a result of negotiations, at the suggestion of the government side, the Agricultural Foundation is to be supported solely by voluntary contributions obtained from public, social and private sources. Monies obtained in this way, however, can still constitute substantial help for Polish villages, especially under the country's serious economic circumstances. There is continuing interest in the foundation by 18 countries. Although the foundation does not yet exist, Western countries have pledged the specific amounts which the organization committee solicited. They permit the initiation of pilot programs during the first six months of operation, estimated at a total cost of \$28 million.

"It seems to me that explaining these issues is necessary because without the good will of all interested parties, which is also expressed in significant publications on the subject of the foundation, the success of this initiative, which is necessary for society, would be impossible.

"The good will of the Agricultural Foundation's Organizational Committee in obtaining its license and carrying out its goals is still very great. The cooperation of the partners in solving the country's most important economic problems is necessary for the government and society."

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POLITICS

POLAND

BRIEFS

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX DELEGATION VISITS--A four-person delegation from the Russian Orthodox Church that included Bishop Anatolij was in Warsaw from 22 to 27 February at the invitation of the Polish Ecumenical Council. Along with five representatives of the churches associated with the Polish Ecumenical Council, chaired by Bishop Jeremiasz, they attended conferences of the standing joint committee. The main directions for cooperation between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Polish Ecumenical Council and its member church were outlined. The matter of expanding ecumenical, theological and peace effort cooperation was discussed. It is anticipated that an official delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church and other churches in the USSR will visit Poland again this year. Bishops Anatolij and Jeremiasz were greeted by minister Adam Lopatka, director of the Office for Religious Affairs. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1-2 Mar 86 p 2] 12776

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ELECTIONS, DISTORTION OF DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES DISCUSSED

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 28 Mar 86 pp 35-38

(Article by Slobodan Inic: "A Toast to Our Elections")

[Text] Many people are now amazed that it could have been possible for some of our "well-known" and "distinguished" revolutionaries to have fallen by the wayside in the nominating process in certain communities. Certainly, this cannot be seen otherwise than as a failure to understand the present social situation and the need for new young people capable of changing the state of crisis in society. It seems that we find it "more normal" for those who are probably most to blame for the present situation to continue on than for new forces, mostly younger, to come forth. The defense and concealment of democratic outcomes and solutions by virtue of an "embargo" is worse than placing an embargo on democracy. All of this indicates that the resistance to democracy is not objective but personal.

When I began to prepare to write this article on our recent elections, I reflected that I would have to consult the substantial literature on elections and the electoral system in our country and in the world. I thus recalled Blondel, Lipset, Nikolas, and our own Jovan Djordjevic, the empirical research of Vladimir Gosti, the perspicacious Slaven Letica, and many others. I will have to master all that, I thought.

But rescue came in the form of none other than Radoje Domanovic. No need to be amazed. I think that he was and has remained our first political scientist! Remember what we learned in elementary school. "The word 'election' means... the installation of a deputy, and its origins go back to patriarchal society when along with their other troubles the people truly did have that other tiresome duty of thinking and worrying about whom they would elect to be their representative. There was a time when elections were conducted in that kind of primitive way, but in Stradija, which is modern and civilized, that stupid old procedure that wastes so much time has been simplified. The minister of police has taken upon himself all the worries of the people, and he does the appointing and choosing instead of the people, so that the people do not waste their time and are free of worry and thought. It is accordingly natural for these to be called free elections."

Forward at a Gallop!--To the Elections

Domanovic's principle also has its own hero of "popular elections." Once upon a time someone came to be "elected" and he said: "I have come to see the minister to petition him for the people to elect me the people's deputy in the next elections."

"But presumably the choice is made by the people."

"Well, you see, how shall I put it?... Yes, the choice belongs to the people, that is what the constitution says; but usually the person elected is the one whom the police want."

There are things I can object to in the way Domanovic looks at elections. Perhaps in his time and "somewhere" it really was like that. But I have to say that that kind of mediation, that style of "you elect me, and I elect you," absolutely does not apply today and in our country, and especially the minister of police has nothing whatsoever to do with the elections. On the contrary, even he has to be worried about whether he will be elected or reelected. In other words, we have now adopted some of the "achievements of civilization" such as "revolutionary consciousness," "recorded as one of the possible candidates," "initiative," "balance of power," and "embargo," which precludes the rule of the police in elections, so that the elections are truly free. In that respect each of those elected knows that the people truly want him, just as the people know that the person they have elected wants them. So that is why I have to state my reservations about Domanovic's conception of "free elections."

This year, and the statistics bear this out, was the 12th time since the war that Yugoslavs have gone to polling places for elections. The newspaper reports record a large voter turnout. The massive participation in the elections (voting) is interpreted as a good way of giving "support to those who are authentic fighters for overcoming the difficulties of society more rapidly," to those "who will have the desire and ability to change the situation and relations in society for the better." The high voter turnout (93.39 percent; 85 percent; 100 percent; and so on) does, it is true, remind us a bit of that embarrassing correlation between the nature of the political system and the nature of the citizen as a subject. The malicious statisticians say that only Albania is ahead of us in these matters.

Of course, correlations of that kind are not valid in our context. I rather believe that we are dealing here with the people's support for a political system as by a referendum regardless of whether it is doing well or poorly. Our political system can never be so bad as not to be given such massive support. That is a proposition I arrived at all on my own, and I hope it will truly be taken in good part. It is almost certain that something of that kind also applies to the people who are nominated. When I was a boy and came of age to vote for the first time, my father told me that the candidates on the ballots knew much better what should be done in the government than other people. Yet I still thought at the time that among those who were only voting there were people better than those for whom the votes were being cast. That

is, I personally was acquainted with the former. Today I no longer think that.

Nevertheless, when I think about what is important to this year's elections, there is one thing I just cannot get straight. Some people say that the recent elections were actually a vote in favor of changes for the better, while others say that we should vote for the best people in order to guarantee changes. It is a very subtle distinction and therefore has to be clarified. There is no question about voting for changes, but this is to say nothing about those who will carry the changes out. This contains some of the old features of our previous elections. So, a vote is cast for changes, and then people are voted in who are in favor of the changes that have been voted for, but perhaps they no longer do favor them. In the latter case, voting for the best people in order to guarantee changes inserts two difficulties which are not so insignificant into an understanding of our recent elections. First, does this mean that it is known in advance who these best people are whom the elections will confirm to have been the best, and second, who can guarantee that they are the best for changes, at least in a majority of cases? I believe that the best combination would be to vote for changes for the better and to vote for the best people in order to guarantee the changes for the better. But this approach, in the opinion of Vjekoslav Vidjak, requires bolder changes in the electoral process itself: direct elections to public office.

One Candidate Is Equal to Two!

Today there are even political systems in which "one candidate is too broad a choice!" as Milovan Vitezovic once put it aphoristically. To be sure, he used a worse word for such systems, but I will not mention it, since it has a general ring and could not by any means be applied to our system. Yet it still must be said that it is especially important to democratic elections that there be more candidates than positions to be filled. I interpret this more as a success of our "science of elections," our "electology," than a result of a real change in electoral procedure (the system), which have been wanting for years now.

Now let us look at some of the electoral "plums" that occurred during the recent "choosings." Take, for example, that some people favored having only one candidate, taking the view that it might be a mere formality to have more than one candidate. They therefore proposed a "democratic" commitment to one candidate. As you certainly already know, there were also differing opinions in that regard, people who favored having more than one candidate, the multi-candidate procedure. At least that is how the two groups declared themselves to be in public and in principle. Nevertheless, how ironic fate can be! In practice the "pluralists" promoted and came out with single-candidate slates, probably taking the view that each of them was worth two! The "monists," on the other hand, when they saw that they might lose, strange as it may seem, raised an uproar for having more than one candidate. Typical balcanic politics--the rule is that there are no rules.

But these so-called open ballots, ballots with more than one candidate for positions to be filled, did show in certain communities that elections in a

"one-party system" are still not a farce, even though many objections could be made to them. I say that perhaps the most important thing is that a start was finally made on this, whatever the initial results might have been. Aleksandar Grlickov has noted with his characteristic equability that the principle of having multiple candidates for elective office is important to further democratization and if we are not entirely successful in this now, we certainly will succeed in coming elections. There is every indication that the greatest result of these elections will be the next elections.

But I have to admit that the present open ballots, ballots containing more candidates than positions to be filled, which I myself have been advocating in the pages of this newspaper, have to some extent remained a kind of "electological" error already being spoken about in critical terms in spite of the progress made toward democratizing the electoral process. I would put it this way: Multiple candidates as a principle is our "most recent" electoral form, while one candidate, as the content of the election, is our electoral reality! Knowing this, there are few people who want to lend their name in the nominating process, since they do not believe that they will be elected. Others again have not been accustomed to "play second fiddle" in elections. This is the only way to explain the frequent and very numerous cases of people refusing to allow themselves to be nominated as "figures" in an election "parade." What can you do, our people learned long ago that when you are nominated, then you will certainly be elected.

But I see a deeper and more serious reason as to why the open ballots have not been so very successful. First of all, from the standpoint of the elector and the voter the recent elections did not result in competitive elections, nor did our entire social and self-management pluralism of interests and ideas result in any sort of competitive contest. Thus the elections were cut off from the real structure of interests and ideas, from the social crisis, and from the disposition of the people. The second reason is inseparably bound up with the first. Our elections do not presuppose that those nominated have programs and stand on them, statements as to what the elected dispatchers of public affairs will do on behalf of their electors. In that respect things are the other way about in our country: The ready-made programs "have" their own people who are nominated and elected.

Don't get me wrong. I do not think that every person nominated and elected should have his own "program" of socialism. But he ought to have his own "program of the Program," or what I call a program of means so that the program of socialism stated in principle would be realized as effectively as possible. And such differences should finally be acknowledged legitimately and taken as something normal.

I have also noticed that little use is made in our country of the experiences of other socialist countries in the area of elections. For example, the Hungarians have passed a law requiring that there be more than one candidate in elections. Their idea is rather interesting. What they are really looking for is competition as to ability among candidates with the same political ideas. If in our country someone advocated that idea or something similar, I think that there would be those who would discredit him in ideological terms.

That is why in Hungary you can even find opstina presidents who are not members of the party. There are no such cases in our country. It still seems to me that Vidjak's proposal presented in the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly concerning bolder changes in electoral procedure as an introduction to direct elections to public office could be the beginning of a worthwhile debate about the changes in our electoral system.

Electoral Permutations

The criteria applied to candidates for the highest positions in the LCY, which promised to jeopardize an older structure and finally retire it, seem to have been set up most democratically in the League of Communists of Croatia. In their case every nomination had to originate in a basic organization, it was required that there be more than one candidate, and then tenure was limited to two successive terms, with a third allowed as an exception, public discussion of candidates, etc. The ballot for the Croatian LC Central Committee had 20 percent more candidates than positions to be filled.

The status of party politician emeritus aroused an interesting debate. The issue was this: Could such people perform operative functions in the LC? It still seems to me that a solution worthy of Solomon was resorted to in response. That is, it was said that the party politician emeritus could not be a professional staff member, but he could perform operational tasks as a volunteer! It is probably assumed that people at that age can contribute more than younger people, and they are also more responsible, since they will not be receiving salaries. How tenable is all that? My position is that this is only one of the ways of perpetuating the generation of those who have been retired. Another way is perhaps more subtle: To what extent has the system of coopting younger party members [these three words in English in the original] ensured a new perpetuation to some extent even in their ideas (but certainly in their obedience as well)?

Nevertheless, many fell by the wayside. Some because of age, poor health, some out of principle, and some because of the procedure itself, which people tried to carry out democratically regardless of whether it was "harder" or "softer" on a particular candidate. A certain number of the old revolutionaries withdrew on behalf of younger people. Others did not make it. This caused amazement: How could this have happened!? Some things really are topsy-turvy in our country. For example, we are more amazed when someone loses a democratic election than when he wins an undemocratic election! To be sure, long before these electoral permutations in the party Milutin Baltić had a presentiment of certain "unfavorable outcomes." He suggested even then (see: DANAS, No 170, 21 May 1985, Zagreb) that "if everyone decided who to elect according to his own criterion, then in practice this would lead to the ruin of those candidates who are better known." This seems to have come about, at least as far as his own advancement is concerned. He did not receive a sufficient number of votes to be elected to the Council of the Federation of Croatian Trade Unions. He also "dropped off" the ballot for elections to the Croatian LC Central Committee in the final round. There is nothing it seems we can do except feel sorry for those candidates "who are somewhat better known." Or perhaps we should rather establish some connection between that kind of "being better known" and their achievements.

The "Serbian" elections in party bodies were somewhat simpler. Some "democratized" things, announcing more candidates in principle, while in practice they continued to present and nominate the same number of candidates as positions to be filled. But others, taking the opposite line in this matter, were in principle in favor of having one candidate for each position to be filled, but then in practice they demanded that there be more than one candidate. So the issue still ended in a "compromise": The winners were the single candidates who were worth at least two taken individually! But this also meant a triumph for a new/old logic which probably goes like this: "Stick to principle in what you say, but in action do what the situation dictates!"

A Social Government

The last elections have pointed up a serious problem of the (im)possibility of forming a social government at the level of the federal state. Back last year Slavoljub Djukic asked this question: "Let us imagine a situation in which it would be no particular event at all for, say, the position of minister in the federal government to go to a person who is not a member of the League of Communists. Is something like that possible?" At least according to what is partially known at this point, even the new federal government will not include any minister who is not a party member. That problem remains, and by all appearances it results from the still unconquered fear that those who do not belong to the party are not sufficiently "loyal."

The last elections, like the previous ones, were not carried along by the idea that they would be a means of bringing the best social forces in the country into the country's administration. Yet they still were different from the previous ones. Usually, the earlier ones provided an electoral "confirmation" of the leadership so that it stayed in office. To some extent that could be justified by the "good state of affairs" in the country, which the entire leadership deserves credit for. But it seems that the social crisis has tended to initiate a differentiation of one leadership from another. The last elections were not just a way of "electing" the leadership, but of legitimizing that portion of the leadership which is willing to change the social situation for the better and which in that regard has already been "chosen," while at the same time it eliminated those parts of the leadership which, let us say, we can no longer put up with.

[Box, pp 36-37]

Olivera Petrovic: Account of Elections in Belgrade

Two Belgrade men are talking.

"We are better," says one.

"So what," the other replies, "you only beat us by one."

When you hear this kind of teasing in a city bus on Monday morning, especially after the perpetual derby has been held, it is logical to assume that the topic is soccer.

But it isn't. Nor are these people fans, nor are they talking about sports. One is from Cukarica and the other from Rakovica, and they have read the voting results by Belgrade opstinas on 16 March and are commenting on them.

(Who would say they were talking about soccer?)

So, we have voted: 93 percent in Vojvodina, 90 in Slovenia and Kosovo, 85 in Montenegro and Serbia proper, slightly more in Ljubljana than in Belgrade, the rural areas with a higher turnout than the cities.... Varying from place to place, it is still the judgment that the voter turnout was good.

Could it in fact have been otherwise? To be sure, some people--who must not be very familiar with this people--did express certain doubts on the eve of the elections. They were answered even on Sunday by Branislav Dacic, member of the Presidium of the Serbian Republic Conference of the SAWP, who said in a statement for the press "that the fears of individuals that there might be voters who would abstain because of the difficult economic situation have turned out to be altogether unjustified."

To be sure, it is true that many people are mad at the government, that they are scolding it and cursing it from the opstina to the federal government, but--not to vote--that is something the people in these parts would not do to itself. For several reasons. The first would be purely personal: the feeling of one's importance in the whole matter. The second is more practical, since the very circling of new names means that those who have not been satisfactory leave the game. (Haven't we all shown like good soccer fans that we find it entertaining to pick teams?) Third, Article 156, along with everything else that is written down in our constitution, was not a gift from anyone. A price was paid for all that.

But the fact that the people did not stay away from the elections, as some had feared, does not mean that everything was perfect. The doubters, it seems, at least as far as Belgrade is concerned, did manage to transfer a portion of their fears to those who organized the elections. Thus the opstinas and local communities became engaged in an incomprehensible race as to who would be first, who would have a higher voter turnout.... What is more, that kind of nervousness even seems to have infected radio and television, so that from one hour to the next they simply bombarded the public with these reports. Thus we followed the climb of the percentages on a live broadcast, we learned where the first voter arrived (some arrived even before the electoral commission), which local community was the first to finish voting, at what hour (it even received an award for that!)....

But if one can understand (to some extent) the impatience with which some people followed the movement of the voters (the numbers and percentages were supposed to show the soundness of the sociopolitical work they had done up until that time), it is not clear why they did not pay the same attention to the way in which the voting was done. Which is why they can be blamed for at least some of those 50,000 invalid ballots.

That is, although the final analyses and assessments have not yet been made of the entire job that was done on 16 March, we do know pretty much where it creaked and what went wrong. For example, how is it that in certain opstinas (Vracar), as they say, they held strictly to the law and organized the voting exclusively at polling places, while elsewhere (certain local communities in Zvezdara and Stari Grad) they tried to argue in favor of having relatives of an absent voter vote in his place? Who knows if they were successful anywhere?

Or, who is responsible for the double lists, or for the fact that people still alive were deleted from the voter lists, while dead people were left on? And more of the same.

A part of the blame for this, they say in the election commissions, is borne by the city statistical bureau, which, they say, was well paid for this job. And something, it is said, can also be attributed to the other competent agencies (the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the opstina assemblies) which are supposed to monitor and record the movement of population. To be sure, they say in local communities that they attempted to correct something by visiting households on the eve of the elections. However, as the saying goes, you don't fatten the pig on Christmas Eve....

By all appearances, whatever those who evaluate electoral activities have to say, the impression is that the voters did their part of the job, going out and voting--far more conscientiously and seriously, in any case with more dignity, than those who were supposed to help them do it.

7045

CSO: 2800/224

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

ACCOUNT OF KOSOVO VETERANS' GATHERING IN BELGRADE

Belgrade KNJIZEVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 86 p 3

[Text] Dear Comrades,

We are delivering to you a short summary of discussions and conclusions from the Meeting of Veterans of the War of National Liberation from Kosovo who live in Belgrade, held on 12 December 1985.

On the agenda of this meeting is the implementation in Kosovo of the political platform on Kosovo of the Central Committee of the LCY.

Comrades Kolj Siroka, president of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, and presidents of the Veterans' Federations of the War of National Liberation in Serbia, Kosovo and Belgrade, were present at this meeting.

Representatives of the media that dealt with the reports of Comrade Kolj Siroka were present at the meeting. It is not known to us who prevented the media, or for what reason, from noting even a single word from the discussion by veterans of the War of National Liberation at this meeting, even after the given summary of the report; therefore, we ask you to publish this summary in the next issue of your newspaper.

With comradely regards,

Meeting Presiding Officers

Pavle Brajovic
Savka Djakovic
Milic Vukovic
Dimitrije Kocovic

At the demand of veterans of the War of National Liberation from Kosovo who live in Belgrade, a meeting was organized and held on 12 December of this year in the assembly room of the Center of the Yugoslav People's Army; it lasted a full four hours, with about 400 veterans in attendance.

Numerous prewar and wartime members of the LCY, participants in and organizers of the War of National Liberation in Kosovo and Metohija, today primarily social-political activists, live in Belgrade.

The results and problems of implementing in Kosovo the political platform on Kosovo of the Central Committee of the LCY were the topic of discussion at this meeting.

The platform is a revolutionary act of the LCY, which obligates all social-political forces of Yugoslavia, among which are both communists and veterans of the War of National Liberation from Kosovo, to struggle actively against the counter-revolution in Kosovo, which has attacked the integrity of Yugoslavia. However, it is not being implemented consistently.

Comrade Kolj Siroka, president of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, expressed the wish to attend this meeting and requested that questions be posed to him in advance. He gave judgments and replies to the questions posed, but he did not reply to some questions.

The following participated in the discussion: Dimitrije Kocovic, section president of the Sixth Kosov-Metohija Brigade; Milija Kovacevic, member of the Council of the Gojko Medenica Federation, recipient of the 1941 Partisan Certificate of Service; Dragan Djordjevic, National Hero, member of the Council of the Republic of Serbia and retired brigadier general; Dusko Karic, delegate of the Second Session of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia, member of the Council of the Republic of Serbia and retired ambassador; Bozhidar Bukumiric, retired ambassador; Dr Professor Mirko Perovic, member of the Federation Council; Petar Brajovic, National Hero, retired lieutenant general and member of the Council of the Federation; Imer Dauti, retired colonel in the Yugoslav National Army; Ramada n Vranici, judge of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia and recipient of the 1941 Partisan Certificate of Service.

In addition to the participants in the discussion cited above, a number of other participants were registered. However, because time ran out, it was necessary to finish the meeting; the next one was scheduled for the middle of March next year.

A number of questions and problems requiring answers and solutions were emphasized at this meeting of veterans. Answers were given to some of them at the meeting itself. However, many essential questions still remained open.

In achieving the political platform through the support of the League of Communists of Kosovo, certain results were realized. However, the counter-revolution in Kosovo is still going on. The continuity of the counter-revolution of 1944-45, 1968, and 1981 is being maintained with the same program, but many of its goals have almost been realized already.

The ideological leaders such as the inspirators and the creators of the counter-revolution have not been brought to political or criminal account to this day.

The perpetrators, mostly young indoctrinated people, are apprehended; this, because of mass arrests, provokes greater familial dissatisfaction and ties to irredentist forces.

The counter-revolution in Bujan at the end of 1943 and the beginning of 1944 gave a separatist stamp to the removal of Kosovo-Metohija from the makeup of Yugoslavia. The decisions of the conference in Bujan were in opposition to the decisions of the Second Session of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia. Tito and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia rejected and negated these decisions. However, the Bujan decisions have not yet been revoked in Kosovo, although this was demanded as early as December 1963 by Secretary of the Regional Committee for Kosovo-Metohija of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia Dushan Mugosha. He was thwarted by those forces on the Regional Committee that had also inspired the making of such decisions in Bujan. Right up to today, on every anniversary year, the conference in Bujan is celebrated and in this way its separatist character is popularized. Thus the conference in Bujan inspires irredentism for Kosovo in Albania and political emigration in the world. On the other hand, the meeting in Prizren in July 1945, at which the decision was made that Kosovo and Metohija would remain within the structure of the Federal Republic of Serbia, has never been recorded to this day.

The veterans are demanding that the Kosovo Parliament ratify a decision to destroy the documents resulting from the conference in Bujan; that a decision be made to end references to the conference in Bujan; that the law on equating the rights of delegates at the conference in Bujan with the rights of recipients of the 1941 Partisan Certificate of Service be abolished.

Irredentism has succeeded in that Kosovo has become almost ethnically pure. It is realizing its aim, while subjective forces at all levels are repeating statements and conclusions. Irredentism on this question wishes to direct the entire Albanian nationality: the Albanian peasant to interest himself in the land and houses of Serbs and Montenegrins who move; the unemployed to interest themselves in the jobs of those who leave Kosovo, etc.

The settlement of Kosovo with "emigrants" from Albania, who have been supplied free of cost with land, homes, equipment, and financial aid, has been carried out in an organized manner. Many of them have, in this way, been de facto bought as enemies of Yugoslavia.

The veterans are demanding that the further emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins be prevented through energetic measures. The veterans also emphasize that, when one speaks about the return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo, priority should be given to the return of farmers. The return of Serbs and Montenegrins is not possible without joint planning and programming by the Province of Kosovo, the Federal Republic of Serbia, and the Union of Federal Republics of Yugoslavia, as well as the allocation of resources.

Cadre decisions in Judiciary organs in Kosovo (i.e. Interior Ministry, the court, the public prosecutor's office) are not adequate to the tasks imposed in the Platform of the Central Committee of the LCY.

Irredentism still has a significant influence on decision-making in the various social structures of Kosovo—it is a legal form of operating. It also achieves its program for an ethnically pure Kosovo through keys for hiring, for educating, for electing officials for political functions, delegate and social functions, through the use of the flag of the State of Albania, inequality in language and writing, etc.

Irredentism in Kosovo induces the Albanian population to listen to the radio and watch television from Tirana, which invites Albanians in Kosovo to break away from Yugoslavia, and technically that is possible. However, there does not exist in Kosovo the necessary, systematic Socialist Yugoslav propaganda that would describe the actual situation in Albania.

The phenomenon of outright falsification of historical events and personages in the historiography of the War of National Liberation in Kosovo (editions, monographs and others) is a special question. The role of Albanians of Kosovo in the War of National Liberation is exaggerated in a calculated manner. In this context the TV series "When Spring Is Late" has been mentioned. In discussion the edition "In the Fire of Revolution" has been especially pointed out as an example of extreme falsifications; in it are found a number of Albanian traitors who are described as veterans of the War of National Liberation. The Presidium of the Union of Veterans of Kosovo has also given its assessment of this edition. Numerous examples indicate that some informational means and publishing activities are not free of the influence of irredentism.

Albanian nationalism and separatism in Kosovo inevitably stir up the phenomenon of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism which must be energetically combatted.

The veterans believe that the process of differentiation with the most responsible officials of Albanian nationality before the Platform on Kosovo of the Central Committee of the LCY has not yet begun. Differentiation does not exist on basic questions such as the conference in Bujan, assessments of organized pressure for emigration by Serbs and Montenegrins, and others, but it is a fundamental prerequisite for the situation to change in Kosovo and conditions to stabilize, for the further process of emigration to be prevented and Albanian youth to be indoctrinated.

Among the leadership in the province there are still individuals who were on the team or who remained in positions of Albanian irredentism and separatism (Ismail Bajra, Hajredin Hodzha, Kurtesh Salihu, and others). There are individuals of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality who, because of their high positions [radi fotelje], have sponsored and are sponsoring separatist forces in Kosovo (Ilija Bakic and others). The case of Ismail Bajra has been mentioned, who went several times to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania, but who did not report a single time, not even by telephone, to the diplomatic representation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Tirana.

The newest examples clearly show the failures of cadre policy in the League of Communists of Kosovo in that the separatists and advocates of failed policy

in Kosovo (Ismail Bajra, Hajredin Hodzha, Kurtesh Salihu, Ilija Bakic, and others) were elected to the council and body of the League of Communists for the preparation of the XIII Congress of the LCY.

In discussions it has been pointed out that the greatest responsibility for the irredentist and separatist escalation in Kosovo is borne by Fadilj Hodzha, who performed in the war and is performing to this day the most visible functions from the Province to the Federation; as a result of this he has wielded decisive influence and enjoyed great authority and trust, which he has abused, as can be seen in a number of examples, of which we cite some:

--During the course of 1943 Enver Hodzha sent a delegation to Ivan Milutinovic, which sought the formation of an antifascist council of national liberation for Kosovo and Dukadjin (Metohija). The delegation requested that after the liberation the Albanians living in Kosovo be given the possibility to unite with Albania. The conference in Bujan was held at the end of 1943 and the beginning of 1944 so that the demands of Enver Hodzha, posed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, could be realized.

Fadilj Hodzha is the main instigator and organizer of the conference in Bujan. He appointed the delegates himself. Of the 49 delegates, 42 were Albanians. He also appointed foreign citizens of Albania as delegates. Under his leadership a resolution was passed at this meeting which demanded that Kosovo and Metohija join Albania.

--During the armed counter-revolution of 1944-45 in Kosovo and Metohija, he negotiated and came to an agreement, as commander of the Operative Staff for Kosovo and Metohija, with the renegade leader Shaban Poluzh, that he, Shaban, mobilize, in the name of the Operative Staff, Albanians from Kosovo and Metohija for the Army of National Liberation. When Shaban Poluzh succeeded in this, 5,000 mobilized men turned in battle against units of the Army of National Liberation of Yugoslavia; with this the counter-revolution in Kosovo and Metohija took on yet a stronger scope. Because of the situation that arose, Fadilj Hodzha was dismissed as commandant, as was the whole Operative Staff as well, by order of the Supreme Commander of the Army of National Liberation and the Movement of Liberation, Comrade Tito, and the Military Administration was imposed on Kosovo and Metohija.

After the liberation he [Fadilj Hodzha] went to Enver Hodzha and lamented the alleged terror which is being carried out against the Albanian population in Kosovo and Metohija.

--In 1968 Fadilj Hodzha was president of the Parliament of the Province of Kosovo and Veli Deva was president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo. Moreover, Fadilj Hodzha was also president of the Commission for the Change of Statutes of the Federal Autonomous Province of Kosovo in connection with the change in the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. At that time the demand for a republic of Kosovo was being publicly proclaimed through political activists around the towns of Kosovo; this was a stimulus to irredentism for the counter-revolutionary demonstrations of the same year.

Fadilj Hodzha was in charge of the relations between our country and Albania. However, the leadership of Albania continuously besmirched Comrade Tito and Yugoslavia, and an ideological-political battle against the policy of Enver Hodzha was not waged in Kosovo. On the contrary, close and intimate relations between Kosovo and Albania were established, and Yugoslavia was bypassed.

Fadilj Hodzha told comrades who were assigned to our mission in Tirana "that he was responsible in the country for relations with Albania." It is known what those relations were like. Some of those comrades who, during their tours of duty, realistically reported on the aims and policy of Enver Hodzha were met with unpleasantness after returning to the country.

On the basis of all this, it was proposed at the veterans' meeting--and accepted with acclamation--that Fadilj Hodzha submit his resignation for all his elected functions.

It was emphasized that Ramadan Vranici, when it was proposed at the meeting of the Regional Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo that the decisions in Bujan be abolished, opposed the abolishment of these decisions, together with some other members of the Regional Committee. At the meeting of the Regional Organization of the League of Communists among officials in organs and organizations of the Federation from the Federal Autonomous Province of Kosovo on 9 February 1982 Ramadan Vranici discussed the unacceptability and the shortcomings of the political platform on Kosovo of the Central Committee of the LCY, and sought that the decisions of the Bujan conference be accepted and that discussion be permitted in which it be demanded that Kosovo become a republic. However, he did not have any results.

Veterans of the War of National Liberation from Kosovo did not fight for a Kosovo of discord, inequality, and genocide against the Serbian and Montenegrin people in Kosovo. They fought for Yugoslavia, including Kosovo and Metohija, brotherhood and unity, equality, love, harmony and progress for all their inhabitants.

The veterans of the War of National Liberation from Kosovo would like to be heard at this meeting by wartime comrades, veterans in Kosovo, as well as by veterans of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Vojvodina. The authority and moral value of veterans of the War of National Liberation are a massive force against nationalistic burdens and one's own bureaucracies, which are the ally of irredentism, since Kosovo is not just Serbia's problem, but all of Yugoslavia's.

Veterans from Kosovo are energetically demanding that the labelling in Kosovo of veterans who live outside Kosovo be stopped; such labels include "Belgrade's underground," "Rankovicists," "factionalists," nationalists, chauvinists, "rabble," and similar names. Veterans from Kosovo have been refuting this, after the war and today, through their activism and performance in the war. These labels can be attached only to those who are imbued with irredentism, separatism and nationalism.

All the above-mentioned statements and demands at the meeting were greeted with applause.

A letter from authors of Serbian, Montenegrin and Muslim nationality has come, as the result of irredentist pressure, to the ranks of authors of Albanian nationality. Not resolving the most important demands from the letter has led to greater division, as escalation of separatism, and statements by individuals that Yugoslavia is not ashamed of the counter-revolution of 1981 in Kosovo.

A petition from more than 2,000 citizens in Kosovo cannot be called hostile. The majority of the demands in the petition are taken from the program of political leadership and the parliament of Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia. The petition as a method is a consequence of the pressure of irredentism and separatists, as well as slowness in resolving the main questions from the political platform on Kosovo of the Central Committee of the LCY. When these questions are more effectively resolved, individuals will then not have a chance to interject with apolitical and nationalistic demands, as has also been the case with this petition.

Veterans from Kosovo who live in Belgrade are demanding that appointees at the meeting, as well as all those chosen by compromise from the ranks of Albanians, Serbs and Montenegrins on the question of nationalism, irredentism, separatism and opportunism, not be proposed or elected to the organs or body of the League of Communists, or to representative or other bodies from the township to the Federation. In connection with this it has been concluded that a list be drawn up and delivered to appropriate organs and organizations.

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SOCIOLOGY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CONCERN ABOUT VASCULAR DISEASE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Feb 86 p 4

(Article by Zdena Stepankova: "Appeals Are Not Enough")

[Text] In our country, cerebral accidents occupy third place on the mortality rate scale; this puts us in the front ranks among developed countries. These accidents are commonly called strokes and were formerly connected with advanced age. This is no longer true, however. The occurrence of cerebral vascular accidents (CVA) continues to slide toward younger age groups.

Although the definition of cerebral vascular accidents is usually preceded by "sudden", this serious illness usually does not appear exactly suddenly. It might be said that people somehow save up for it. Some do it knowingly by maintaining bad living habits, others maybe by ignoring that they have high blood pressure, one of the most serious risk factors of CVA.

The task of specialized health care centers is to inform the public about the recent findings relevant to the treatment of these diseases, to be equipped with latest technology and medicines and to treat the patients. But the most important factor is preventive care, which is not only the least expensive, but the most beneficial way as well.

It has been proven that a lower number of hypertensives reduced the occurrence of CVA as well. In some regions, as, for instance, in the Jindrichuv Hradec district, maximum attention is paid to people with hypertension; the local health care centers follow them up, treat them and their organization does not allow anybody to escape blood pressure control which helps to diagnose hypertension. In many medical centers, blood pressure control is an integral part of a medical check-up, but this is neither done everywhere nor regularly as yet. However, to diagnose high blood pressure is one thing and to treat it and especially to prevent it is another one. The physician prescribes the proper treatment, but it is up to the patient to adhere to it.

Some of the principal CVA risk factors are high blood pressure, obesity, smoking, stress tension and excessive use of salt.

Allegedly, we belong among the most obese people in the world. This is most certainly not an honor, because obesity is a known cause of many diseases. It

is well known and therefore various diets, promising loss of weight without limiting food intake are thriving. Unfortunately, very few people can eat to their heart's content and not gain weight. For the majority, overeating means a steady increase of kilos. Even some children are obese. What kind of future are we, the parents, preparing for them?

We are reading practically every day about the harmful effects of smoking; all the facts are known and they are convincing. Nevertheless, in our country, the non-smoker compared to a smoker is always at an disadvantage.

It is said that our salt consumption is ten times higher than normal. And a patient suffering of hypertension should most certainly not add salt to his food. Excessive salting is harmful, but it seems that our food industry is unaware of it. Smoked meat is always too salty and even ham, although considered as strictly diet food, is often so salty that it is practically inedible.

Stress tension is also of our own making. One to another. The boss to the subordinate and the other way around. A better work organization, a clear idea of what is actually required from people would prevent many a last minute rush job.

It is well known for quite some time, that one of the reasons of vascular accidents of women is the use of hormonal contraceptives by women smokers. Nevertheless, in our country as well as in many other developed countries, women, especially the young ones, unfortunately smoke more than do men.

The latest equipment helps the doctors to diagnose individual diseases, effective drugs contribute to their cure or at least to their treatment. But equally important is the approach of the patient, his readiness to give up certain things, to improve his living habits, to follow the doctor's advice. On the other hand, it also requires certain courage from the physicians. According to the estimate of the World Health Organizations, allegedly only one-fifth of physicians have the courage to refuse prescribing drugs to the patient and instead to recommend to him more walking, fresh air, exercise, or to lose weight and quit smoking. And to tell the truth, it probably does require courage, because we, the patients, are not fully satisfied unless we leave the doctor's office with a drug prescription. And woe if we are forbidden something!

In some developed countries, the number of cerebral vascular accidents has already been successfully reduced. But mere appeals or shocking examples of afflicted people did not suffice. Conditions conducive to living healthily were created. Enabling people to buy less salted salami, not to spend hours in smoke-filled rooms although non-smokers, etc. Recently, one of our readers told me on the phone that there should be less talk and more concrete action about such risks. He was right.

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